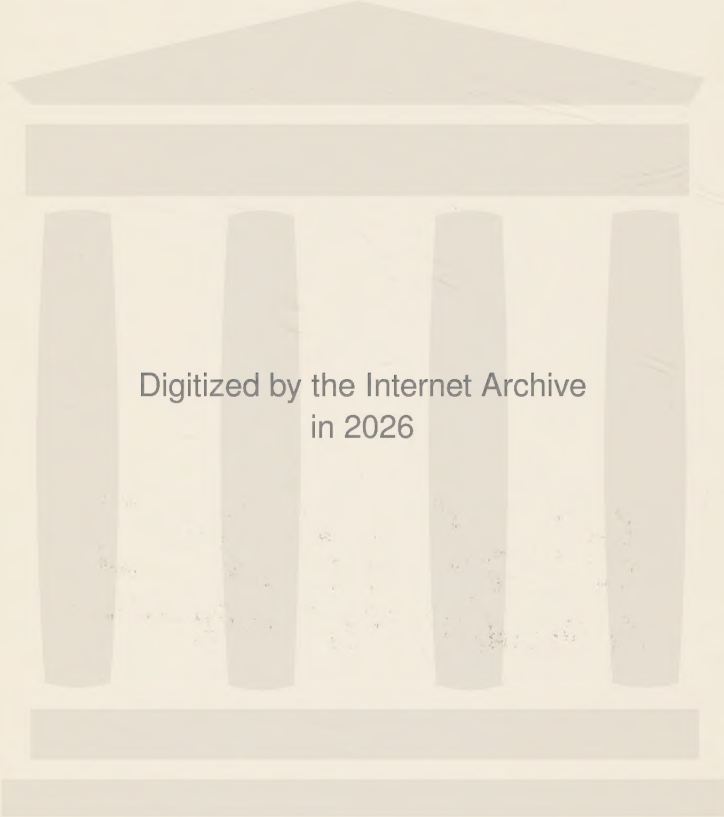




Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

DISCARDED
CONCORDIA UNIV. LIBRARIES

Beaumont and Fletcher
on the Restoration Stage



Wit at severall Weapons

vol. 6. p. 3369

SIR GEORGE WILLIAMS UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

Beaumont and Fletcher

on the

Restoration Stage

BY ARTHUR COLBY SPRAGUE, PH.D.



Benjamin Blom

Copyright 1926 by the President and
Fellows of Harvard College
© Copyright 1954 by Arthur Colby Sprague
Reissued 1965 by Benjamin Blom, Inc. Bx 10452,
by arrangement with Arthur Colby Sprague
L.C. Card Cat. No.: 64-14716

Printed in U.S.A. by
NOBLE OFFSET PRINTERS, INC.
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.



TO

JAMES HAUGHTON WOODS

Preface

IT would be a long task, though a pleasant one, to record in full the obligations which I have incurred in the course of writing these pages. Professor Kittredge has given many hours of his time to reading and correcting the manuscript, and without his help and encouragement its publication would scarcely have been possible. Professor G. P. Baker, Mr. Allardyce Nicoll, and Professor J. T. Murray have made many valuable suggestions. My thanks are due to the librarians of the University of Michigan, whose courtesy enabled me to consult Miss M. N.'s *Faithful General*; and to those of the British Museum, of Yale, and of my own University, who have assisted me in every way they could. Finally, I am grateful to many former fellow students at Harvard — especially to Dr. Hazleton Spencer, Mr. Lawrence H. Morgan, and Dr. Leslie Hotson — for particular favors and acts of kindness.

Contents

INTRODUCTION	xiii-xx
------------------------	---------

PART I

THE STAGE HISTORY OF THE PLAYS

1. The Commonwealth Drama	3
2. From the Reopening of the Theatres to the Organization of D'Avenant's Company (November 5, 1660)	6
3. From the Organization of D'Avenant's Company to its Opening at Lincoln's Inn Fields (November 1660-June 1661)	13
4. From D'Avenant's Opening at Lincoln's Inn Fields to the Opening of the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane (June 1661-May 7, 1663)	19
5. From the Opening of the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane to the Union of the Companies (May 1, 1663-November 16, 1682)	24
6. From the Union of the Companies to Betterton's Opening at Lincoln's Inn Fields (November 16, 1682-April 30, 1695)	53
7. From Betterton's Opening at Lincoln's Inn Fields to the Reinforcement of the Haymarket Company under Swiney (April 30, 1695-October 15, 1706)	75
8. From the Reinforcement of the Haymarket Company under Swiney to the Opening of "Her Majesty's Only Company of Comedians" (October 15, 1706-January 15, 1708)	103
9. From the Opening of "Her Majesty's Only Company of Comedians" to the End of the Union (January 15, 1708-June 4, 1709)	107
10. From the End of the Union to the Death of Betterton (June 4, 1709-April 28, 1710)	112

PART II

THE ALTERATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS

D'Avenant,	<i>The Rivals</i>	129
Anon.,	<i>The Island Princess</i>	137
Tate,	<i>The Island Princess</i>	139
Motteux,	<i>The Island Princess</i>	147
Betterton,	<i>The Prophetess</i>	154
Powell (?),	<i>Bonduca</i>	160
Rochester,	<i>Valentinian</i>	165
Waller,	<i>The Maid's Tragedy</i>	178
Buckingham (?),	<i>The Restoration</i>	187
Settle,	<i>Philaster</i>	195
Scott,	<i>The Unhappy Kindness</i>	202
M. N.,	<i>The Faithful General</i>	212
Buckingham,	<i>The Chances</i>	221
D'Urfey,	<i>Trick for Trick</i>	227
D'Urfey,	<i>A Commonwealth of Women</i>	232
D'Urfey,	<i>A Fool's Preferment</i>	238
Vanbrugh,	<i>The Pilgrim</i>	244
Farquhar,	<i>The Inconstant</i>	248
Anon.,	<i>Wit without Money</i>	255
Cibber,	<i>The Rival Fools</i>	257
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ALTERED VERSIONS . . .		263
APPENDICES:		
I. Anon.,	<i>The Mad Lover</i>	271
II. H. N. (?),	<i>The Royal Merchant</i>	274
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE ALTERED VERSIONS		279
GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY		283
INDEX		291

List of Illustrations

1. Wit at Several Weapons *Frontispiece*
 From Beaumont and Fletcher's *Works*, 1711, vi, 3369. For a discussion of this print and that reproduced opposite p. 138, see Odell, *Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving*, i, 293. He believes that they represent the stage of the time.
2. Nell Gwynn 36
 Valck after Cooper. From an extra-illustrated copy of Cunningham's *Nell Gwynn*, iv, 176, in the Widener Collection.
3. The Humorous Lieutenant 56
 G. Van der Gucht. From Tonson's edition of the play, 1736.
4. Anne Oldfield 92
 Fisher after Richardson. From a Folio print 14 × 18 in the Harvard Theatre Collection.
5. Playbill of The Pilgrim 110
 May 24, 1708. From an original in the British Museum, press mark 11795 g 19 (2).
6. The Island Princess 138
 From Beaumont and Fletcher's *Works*, 1711, vi, 3005.
7. The Duke of Buckingham 186
 From the frontispiece to Buckingham's *Miscellaneous Works*, 1707.
8. The Chances 220
 From Buckingham's *Works*, 1715, ii, 106.
9. Robert Wilks 248
 From an extra-illustrated copy of *The Life of Mrs. Abington*, p. 20, in the Harvard Theatre Collection.

Introduction

THE present study falls into two parts of about equal length: the first is concerned with the theatrical history of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays from 1660 to 1710; the second with some twenty alterations and adaptations of them, written, and in almost every case produced, during the same period. It has seemed best to accept as Beaumont and Fletcher's all but one of the fifty-two pieces printed as theirs in the Folio of 1679 and reprinted in the next collected edition, the Octavo of 1711. The single exception is *The Coronation*, which Langbaine said "was writ by *Shirley*; as the Reader may see by the Catalogue of his Six Plays, octavo *Lond.* 1653,"¹ and which has been excluded, without complaint, from what remains the standard edition of our authors.² A number of the others are of more or less questionable character, yet no one of them, perhaps, would be wholly without defenders. Of plays subsequently added to the Beaumont and Fletcher canon,³ only *Henry VIII* seems to have been acted during the Restoration period—and this I have felt, if only for association's sake, to belong elsewhere. As for the dates here accepted as limits for the somewhat

¹ *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets*, Oxford, 1691, p. 478. It is also assigned to Shirley in Francis Kirkman's "True, Perfect, and Exact Catalogue" affixed to *Tom Tyler and his Wife*, 1661, ed. J. S. Farmer in *Tudor Facsimile Texts*, 1912, p. 2.

² *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, ed. Alexander Dyce, 11 vols., 1843-46.

³ When questions of authorship have come up (fortunately they have not come up often) I have been guided by Bullen's article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (vii, 303); by Macaulay's chapter in the *Cambridge History* (vi, 107 ff.); and by the monographs of Mr. A. H. Cruickshank (*Philip Massinger*, 1920), and Professor C. M. Gayley (*Beaumont the Dramatist*, 1914).

indeterminate Restoration Period, 1660 represents the formal reopening of the theatres, 1710 the death of Thomas Betterton, last of the old actors.

I have tried to make the stage chronicle in Part One as complete as possible, not hesitating to devote space to such points as the exact dating of individual performances. Particular emphasis has been laid on what plays were best liked by Restoration audiences, or, at least, what plays were most frequently chosen for representation; while some consideration has also been given to the comparative popularity enjoyed by Beaumont and Fletcher and by Shakespeare at the beginning and end of the period.

In setting out on the making of this chronicle, two wholly logical methods presented themselves: (1) to carry on the record of each play as a complete chapter in itself; (2) to carry on the record of the whole group of plays as such, with strict adhering to chronological sequence. The first method would have shown clearly enough which plays were the favorites, but would have given little idea either of the distribution of the plays between the companies or of the strength of the group as a whole at any particular time. The second method, rigidly followed, would have led to something like chaos. A modification of it has, accordingly, been preferred. From 1660 to 1663 — difficult years in more ways than one — the chronological principle has been adopted, but with separate treatment of the two important companies, and with some recognition of theatrical milestones. A new chapter carries forward the double record as far as the union of the companies in 1682, plays which had already been acted in the first three seasons after the Restoration being arranged alphabetically, those only now added to the repertory following in the order in which they were produced. The united company is next considered. Then another chapter is divided between the Lincoln's Inn

Fields and the Drury Lane company up to the partial reunion of October, 1706. Here a third summary is appended: the first having to do with the three seasons following the king's return; the second, with 1682-1695 as compared with 1660-1682. Owing to the temporary reunion of the companies in January, 1708, the record for the last four seasons is necessarily a broken one. But at the end a complete summary of the fifty years is given, with some discussion of the two questions already mentioned.

As for the alterations and adaptations, any examination of them, not merely mechanical in kind, may fairly claim the attention of a reader interested in the contrasting dramatic ideals of the Jacobean and Restoration eras. I have tried, accordingly, not simply to describe the changes which were made in the old plays, but, whenever possible, to show why they were made. The arrangement is again one of convenience only. The twelve versions of "serious plays" (tragedies and tragi-comedies) come first, then the eight versions of comedies.¹ It is worth noting that all of the "serious plays" except one (the anonymous *Island Princess* of 1669) are genuine alterations: that is, revisions in which some new artistic principle is discernible, and not merely a desire to renovate the plays for stage purposes. In the comedies, on the other hand, adaptation of this sort is the rule, Farquhar's *Inconstant* standing out as the most notable of the exceptions. At the end of this Second Part, the changes which come nearest to being characteristic of these altered versions as a whole are listed as compactly as possible. The Appendices, finally, are concerned with two sup-

¹ Restoration plays founded on more than one original, or in which borrowings from Beaumont and Fletcher are of minor consequence, have not been considered in the following pages. The first principle has been invoked against Dr. James Drake's *Sham Lawyer* (1697) and Cibber's *Love Makes a Man* (1700); the second, after some hesitation, against Charles Johnson's *Love and Liberty* (1709).

posed adaptations which I have been unable to verify as such.

On neither side of the subject has much been written before. In the case of twelve of the alterations and adaptations the meagre notices given by Genest seem to have remained wholly unsupplemented. D'Urfey's three are described by Dr. R. S. Forsythe (*A Study of the Plays of Thomas D'Urfey*, in *Western Reserve Bulletins*, 1916-1917),¹ whose account of them, though suggesting the bestowal of great pains on some matters of detail, leaves something to be desired. Betterton's *Prophetess* and the *Motteux Island Princess* are summarized, and little more, in Mr. A. J. Armstrong's *Operatic Performances in England before Handel*, 1918.² A short notice of Farquhar's *Inconstant* appears in Dr. Schmid's *George Farquhar, Sein Leben und seine Original-Dramen*, 1904.³ Finally, there are a few sentences on Cibber's *Rival Fools* in Dr. De Witt C. Croissant's *Studies in the Work of Colley Cibber*,⁴ and a somewhat unsatisfactory paragraph on Settle's *Philaster* in Dr. F. C. Brown's monograph, *Elkanah Settle*.⁵

The stage history of about twenty of our authors' plays has been sketched in the unfortunately incomplete *Variorum Edition*.⁶ These accounts are based on Kirkman's *Wits*, Pepys, Langbaine, and, with decreasing frequency, on Genest, Malone's *Shakespeare*, and the *Roscius Anglicanus* of Downes. For the thirty-odd plays not included in the *Variorum*, there are only the few words on each in Dyce's edition, Ward's *English Dramatic Literature*, and the manuals of Halliwell⁷ and W. C. Hazlitt.⁸

¹ Vol. xix, no. 5.

² *The Baylor Bulletin*, vol. xxi, no. 4.

³ *Weiner Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie*, xviii.

⁴ Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1912.

⁵ Chicago, 1897.

⁶ *The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher*, 4 vols., 1904-1912. It is regularly referred to here as *Var. Ed.*

⁷ *A Dictionary of Old English Plays*, 1860.

⁸ *A Manual for the Collector and Amateur of Old English Plays*, 1892.

From Genest and the voluminous appendices to Mr. Alardyce Nicoll's *History of Restoration Drama* (1923), it would be possible, indeed, to compile a fairly satisfactory chronicle. But there would still be wanting a very considerable body of information brought together in the following pages from Dr. Edward Browne's memoranda, The Burney and Latreille Manuscripts, Mr. Inderwick's *Calendar of the Inner Temple Records*, the *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, and from newspapers, song-books, critical pronouncements, miscellanies, and so forth.

The question of *influence* has not been broached. That this is a highly interesting one was shown by Professor James Tupper in an article on one phase of it, "The Relation of the Heroic Drama to the Romances of Beaumont and Fletcher,"¹ which appeared some twenty years ago. He found "the most striking resemblances" between the two forms.² Both alike choose remote and unfamiliar scenes, with "exalted personages only, whose fate involves that of the state." Both "sacrifice psychological interest in character to theatrical bustle," resorting to varied and striking incidents which lead up to a denouement never simple or expected or inevitable, but always thoroughly effective on the stage. Characterization in the heroic drama is, indeed, reduced to the depiction of fixed types, some of which — particularly the vaunting hero of "ungovernable passion," "the love-lorn maiden," and the "evil woman of high authority," — are anticipated in the work of Beaumont and Fletcher. They, finally, made much use of masques and masque elements

¹ *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 1905, 584-621. Cf. his introduction to D'Avenant's *Love and Honour* and *The Siege of Rhodes*, in the *Belles Lettres Series*, 1909.

² In 1664 Richard Flecknoe had perceived that "Beaumont and Fletcher first writ in the Heroick way, upon whom *Suckling* and others endeavoured to refine agen" (*Love's Kingdom, with a short Treatise on the English Stage*, sig. G5).

— of “somewhat adventitious scenic effects” — and here too their lead was followed by the later school.¹

Another phase, quite as important, has been little more than suggested. Mr. Allardyce Nicoll, after describing the *Wild-Goose Chase* as “not untypical of Fletcher’s later art,” goes on to say: “There is here just such a play as the best Restoration authors present to us, just the same subservience of the plot to witty dialogue, just the same air of graceful abandon, just the same loss of all more sober moral standards. This type of play added to characteristics taken from Jonson gave the comedy of Dryden: carried one step farther into the realm of aristocratic licentiousness, it produced the masterpieces of Congreve.”² The influence of Fletcher’s comedies on the Restoration comedy of manners cannot be discussed here; but that it was a very real influence indeed, and one which demands investigation, will not be denied by any student of seventeenth-century literature.

The group dealt with in Fletcher’s comedies is already a restricted one. “We require better bred Fools than our Fore-fathers were contented with,” wrote John Duntton in 1691, “for a Merry Millar or *Cobler* wou’d make Excellent Sport at the *Red-Bull* or *Globe*, whereas nothing will down with us now under *Lawyers Clerk*, or a *Country Gentleman*.”³ And, though Fletcher was ready enough to fill in his backgrounds with “the socially obscure,” yet it was only to the “gentlemanly world” that he went for prominent figures.⁴ From this world, moreover, — albeit not yet the town-keeping,⁵ highly artificial

¹ These are, I think, the main points made by Dr. Tupper, though, in a zeal for exhaustiveness, he finds resemblances under several other categories.

² *A History of Restoration Drama*, Cambridge, 1923, p. 170.

³ *The Athenian Mercury*, vol. v, no. 1, December, 1691.

⁴ Cf. O. L. Hatcher, *John Fletcher, A Study in Dramatic Method*, Chicago, 1905, pp. 67, 78.

⁵ The scene of Fletcher’s comedies, or of the more English among them, is quite as often the country as the town: witness *Monsieur Thomas*, *The Scorn-*

beau monde of the later playwrights — came at least one personage whose degenerate progeny appear in almost every Restoration comedy. Dryden, in comparing Beaumont and Fletcher with Shakespeare, found that the former “understood and imitated the conversation of gentlemen much better; whose wild debaucheries, and quickness of wit in repartees, no poet before them could paint as they have done.”¹ And I am afraid that Mirabel, and Thomas, and Don John must acknowledge their paternity in the case of the Dorimants and Valentines of the end of the century. Kingsley went so far as to call Monsieur Thomas “the spiritual father of all angry lads, rufflers, blades, bullies, Mohocks, Corinthians, and dandies, down to the last drunken clerk who wrenched off a knocker, or robbed his master’s till to pay his losses at a betting office”; but that is a somewhat distorted view of the matter.²

“In easy dialogue is Fletcher’s praise,” wrote Dryden to Congreve.³ And in another place he has: “As for comedy, repartee is one of its chiefest graces; the greatest pleasure of the audience is a chase of wit, kept up on both sides, and swiftly managed. And this our forefathers, if not we, have had in Fletcher’s plays, to a much higher degree of perfection, than the French poets can reasonably hope to reach.”⁴ Other Restoration critics praised

ful Lady, The Wild-Goose Chase, The Elder Brother, Wit at Several Weapons, etc. But, though country life was only unendurable to Madame Marine, in *The Noble Gentleman*, to Valentine and the servants, in *Wit without Money*, the general attitude towards it is already different from that, say, in Thomas Heywood. And one satirical portrait from country society — Sir Roger, in *The Scornful Lady* — is an ugly anticipation of a Restoration stock character, and was recognized as such by Collier (*Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage*, 1698, p. 127), D’Urfey (Preface to *The Campaigners*, 1698, pp. 13, 14), and Steele (*Spectator*, no. 270, January 9, 1712).

¹ *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (*Works*, ed. Scott-Saintsbury, xv, 346).

² *Miscellanies*, 1860, iii, 108.

³ *Epistle the Twelfth* (Scott-Saintsbury, xi, 57).

⁴ *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, xv, 334, 335.

Fletcher's "conversation,"¹ his "courtly elegance and gentle familiarity of style,"² his "witty raillery" and successful imitation of "the conversation of gentlemen."³ Indeed, what a much later writer says of the beginning of *The Scornful Lady* — that "this scene,⁴ with the airs that the lady gives herself, the readiness and sprightliness of her replies, and the lasting style of the prose, is an anticipation of the writing of Congreve"⁵ — holds good, so far as dialogue is concerned, of *The Wild-Goose Chase* certainly, and of parts, at any rate, of several other comedies.

The last point I would make is the most obvious of the three. Flecknoe, whose short critique of our authors contains much sound sense, has it that "*Fletcher* was the first who introduc't that witty obscenity in his Playes, which like poison infused in pleasant liquor, is alwayes the more dangerous the more delightful."⁶ On the subject of Fletcher's "moral levity" a great deal has been written, and without any serious element of controversy. Enough for our purpose that in his comedies there is "a distinct approach towards the *fay ce que voudras* of the Restoration";⁷ and that the writers of that time occasionally cited his practice to excuse their own.⁸

¹ James Drake, *The Ancient and Modern Stages Survey'd*, 1699, p. 201.

² Edward Phillips, *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1675, p. 108.

³ Langbaine, *Account of the English Dramatick Poets*, p. 204.

⁴ As a matter of fact, this opening scene has generally been thought Beaumont's (see *Var. Ed.*, i, 359, 360; and C. M. Gayley, *Beaumont the Dramatist*, 1914, p. 374).

⁵ Leigh Hunt, *Beaumont and Fletcher, or The Finest Scenes, Lyrics, and Other Beauties of those Poets*, 1855, p. 78, note.

⁶ *Love's Kingdom*, 1664, sig. G6 v^o.

⁷ Saintsbury, *A History of Elizabethan Literature*, 1910, p. 256.

⁸ Mrs. Behn, in her preface to *The Lucky Chance*, 1687 (*Works*, ed. Sumners, iii, 186); Dryden, in his preface to the *Fables*, 1701 (xi, 243); the anonymous authors of *The Stage Acquitted, being a Full Answer to Mr. Collier, etc.*, 1699, p. 10, and *The Stage Beaux Toss'd in a Blanket*, 1704, p. 29.

PART I

The Stage History of
the Plays

*Their plays are now the most pleasant and frequent
entertainments on the stage.*—DRYDEN.

The Stage History of the Plays

I. THE COMMONWEALTH DRAMA

AS our affairs are to be transacted in the comparative sunshine of the Restoration years, there is no occasion to venture far into the twilight time just before. The researches of Professor H. E. Rollins¹ and Dr. Leslie Hotson² make it possible to name a few of our authors' plays — all of them favorites with later audiences — which were acted, or nearly acted, in the teeth of the Puritans. Thus, *The Scornful Lady* was performed, at what theatre is uncertain, in the summer of 1647.³ *A King and No King* was announced in playbills as to be acted October 5, or October 6, of the same year, at Salisbury Court, where a good-sized audience assembled, only to be swooped down on and dispersed by the Lord Mayor and sheriffs of London.⁴ *Wit without Money* was put on at the Red Bull, February 3, 1647-1648, tickets being thrown into gentlemen's coaches with the announcement, "At the Bull this day you may have Wit without Money,

¹ See his two papers in *Studies in Philology: A Contribution to the History of the Commonwealth Drama* (1921, xviii, 267-333) and *The Commonwealth Drama, Miscellaneous Notes* (1923, xx, 52-69).

² Hotson, *Sir William Davenant and the Commonwealth Stage*, Harvard dissertation, 1923, unprinted.

³ Rollins, *Contribution*, pp. 279, 280.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 283, 284; Hotson, p. 113. Rollins thinks that "the company was perhaps made up of members of the old King's Men, and Beeston's Boys who were at that time engaged in the publication of the Beaumont and Fletcher folio." The English refugees in Holland proposed giving the same tragi-comedy before the Princess Royal in the spring of 1654 (Rollins, *Contribution*, p. 313).

meaning a Play.”¹ The same comedy was repeated at that theatre, December 30, 1654; but the actors were again pounced upon, and this time they were robbed of their costumes.² Finally, Wright tells us that, “in the Winter before the King’s Murder, 1648,” when some of the actors assembled at the Cockpit “were presenting the Tragedy of the *Bloudy Brother* (in which *Lowin* Acted *Aubrey*, *Taylor* *Rollo*, *Pollard* the Cook, *Burt* Latorch, and I think *Hart* Otto) a Party of Foot Souldiers beset the House, surprized ’em about the midle of the Play, and carried ’em away in their habits, not admitting them to Shift, to *Hatton-house* then a Prison, where having detained them sometime, they Plunder’d them of their Cloths and let ’em loose again.”³

Perhaps in consequence of these repeated raids, the actors took to giving “drolls” — “short, racy, comic scenes from the plays most in favor”⁴ — and, in the provinces at any rate, they continued the practice for many years after the king’s return.⁵ A collection of these drolls made by Francis Kirkman, *The Wits, or Sport upon Sport*,⁶ draws heavily on Beaumont and Fletcher, fourteen of the twenty-seven pieces being adapted,⁷ or “contrived,” from their plays.⁸ As these drolls may be supposed to represent favorite scenes,⁹ at least with the groundlings, a word or two must be spared to each.

¹ Hotson, p. 120.

² *Ibid.*, p. 151; Rollins, *Contribution*, p. 316, and note.

³ *Historia Histrionica*, 1699. (*Occasional Fac-Simile Reprints*, ed. E. W. Ashbee, 1868-1870, no. 30, pp. 8, 9; cf. Rollins, *Contribution*, pp. 293, 294; Hotson, pp. 129, 130.)

⁴ Hotson, p. 142.

⁵ Rollins, *Contribution*, p. 309.

⁶ The imperfect copy in the Harvard College Library seems to be of the 1672 edition. Cf. Nettleton, *English Drama of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century*, 1914, p. 321.

⁷ Two are from Shakespeare, one from Jonson.

⁸ By the actor Robert Cox, for whom see Rollins, *Contribution*, pp. 305 ff.; *Miscellaneous Notes*, pp. 59, 60.

⁹ It is worth noting that nine of the ten plays, which seem to have been most popular with Restoration audiences contributed drolls to Kirkman’s collection (see p. 122 below).

From *Beggars' Bush* came ii, 1, 1-208, under the title of *The Lame Commonwealth*.¹ It is introduced, as in every other case, by a few lines of "argument," and is concluded with a little added matter — Snap and Ferret returning to congratulate themselves on Hubert's rout and to pun on their own names.² The kitchen knaves in *The Bloody Brother* have a droll to themselves, called *The Three Merry Boyes*,³ composed of most of ii, 2 (minus Latorch's part) and of iii, 2. From *The Chances* came i, 9, somewhat cut; iii, 1, 1-99; and almost all of iii, 3, as *The Landlady*.⁴ *The Loyal Citizens*⁵ is no more than a somewhat corrupt version of *Cupid's Revenge*, iv, 3. As might be guessed, *The Stallion*⁶ consists of two notorious scenes (iii, 3, and iv, 4, 54 ff.) from *The Custom of the Country*. *The Humorous Lieutenant* contributed ii, 4, 161 ff., iii, 3 (much abridged), iii, 5, and iii, 7, 1-25, to form a droll called *Forc'd Valour*.⁷

*The Encounter*⁸ (iii, 4, 8 ff. of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, somewhat cut towards the end) is described as "a piece of Mock-Knight errantry performed between Ralfe a Grocers Prentice and Barbarossa a Barber." The list of *dramatis personae* is quaint enough to deserve quotation: "A Citizen and his Wife, Ralfe their Prentice, Knight of the Burning Pestle, a Squire and Dwarfie attending upon the Knight, Barbarossa the Giant, several Knights-Er-rant, and distressed Damsells delivered by the Pussiant Knight of the Burning Pestle."

Parts of four scenes⁹ devoted to Bustofa were taken from *The Maid in the Mill* to make up a droll entitled *The Surprise*.¹⁰ *The Maid's Tragedy* is represented by another,

¹ No. 14, pp. 28-34.

² The frontispiece to Kirkman's *Wits*, showing Clause, Falstaff, etc., on the Red Bull stage has been frequently reproduced (for example, in A. H. Thorndike, *Shakespeare's Theater*, p. 244).

³ No. 12, pp. 73-78.

⁷ No. 15, pp. 87-93.

⁴ No. 23, pp. 140-148.

⁸ No. 16, pp. 93-97.

⁵ No. 10, pp. 62-65.

⁹ II, 2; iv, 1-2; v, 2.

⁶ No. 8, pp. 50-56.

¹⁰ No. 26, pp. 167-181.

The Testy Lord,¹ composed of i, 2, 1-25, 55-82, 95-103 (without the references to Aspatia); ii, 2, 84 ff.; iii, 2, 2-45, 297 ff.; iv, 2, 8-287 (much cut). The hero is, of course, Calianax.

Halliwell reprinted *The Doctors of Dull-Head Colledg*² as "a Droll formed out of the lost play of *The Father's Own Son*." An edition of *Father's Own Son*, described in the title page as "Formerly Acted at the Private House in Black Fryers; And now at the Theatre in Vere street by His Majesties Servants. The Author John Fletcher Gent.," proves, however, to be nothing more than the sheets of the 1639 edition of *Monsieur Thomas* issued with a different title-page.³ The droll is made up of ii, 4 and iii, 1, 1-24, 222-314, of that comedy.

The baiting of Pharamond by the citizens in *Philaster* (v, 4) forms another droll, called *The Club-men*.⁴ With better taste, Cox took over portions of *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife* (iii, 2, 1-59; iii, 4; iv, 1, 5-101) as *An Equal Match*.⁵ *The False Heire, and Formal Curate*,⁶ is only a thrusting together of *The Scornful Lady*, iii, 2 (with some cuts); iv, 1, 1-124; and iv, 2, 55 ff. And, finally, *The Sexton, or the Mock Testator*,⁷ is, of course, *The Spanish Curate*, iv, 5, 40 ff. (slightly abridged).

2. FROM THE REOPENING OF THE THEATRES TO THE ORGANIZATION OF D'AVENANT'S COMPANY, November 5, 1660

Three several dramatic companies are to be distinguished early in that momentous year, 1660. A statement

¹ No. 24, pp. 148-158.

² No. 27, pp. 182-186.

³ Greg, *A List of English Plays written before 1643 and printed before 1700*, p. 10. "Vere street" dates the edition 1660-1663. See also A. C. Potter's MS. additions to his *Bibliography of Beaumont and Fletcher*, 1890. The droll is properly identified in W. C. Hazlitt's *Manual for the Collector of Old English Plays*, p. 160, and in the *Var. Ed.*, iv, 326.

⁴ No. 14, pp. 83-86. In the Argument, Pharamond is concisely designated as "a boasting lamish Prince."

⁵ No. 7, pp. 45-50.

⁶ No. 3, pp. 19-27.

⁷ No. 5, pp. 34-38.

by John Downes, the prompter, has long served to introduce one of them: "In the Year 1659, General *Monk*, Marching then his Army out of *Scotland* to *London*. Mr. *Rhodes* a Bookseller being Wardrobe-Keeper formerly (as I am inform'd) to King *Charles* the First's, Company of Comedians in *Black-Friars*; getting a License from the then Governing State, fitted up a House then for Acting call'd the *Cock-pit* in *Drury-Lane*, and in a short time Compleated his Company."¹ Recent investigation makes it inadvisable to accept this quite as it stands. Thus it appears that plays had been given regularly at the Cockpit for some time before the date indicated, but that performances there and elsewhere remained illegal until late in the same spring.² A second company, made up of more experienced actors than those gathered by Rhodes, was pretty certainly at the Red Bull by May, and perhaps much earlier.³ Finally, a third and somewhat mysterious troupe, under one William Beeston, trod the boards at Salisbury Court not later than August 20.⁴ The checkered history of this last company does not concern us.⁵

¹ *Roscius Anglicanus*, ed. Knight, p. 17.

² Rollins, *Contribution*, pp. 330-332; *Miscellaneous Notes*, p. 65; Hotson, pp. 226-228.

³ Rollins, *Contribution*, pp. 328-332. The evidence he brings forward for "regular" performances at this theatre in 1659-60 is less strong than in the case of the Cockpit. Dr. Hazleton Spencer is content to date the reopening of the Red Bull "some time in the spring or summer of 1660" (*The Restoration Stage Versions of Shakespeare's Plays*, Harvard dissertation, 1923, unprinted).

⁴ W. J. Lawrence, *A Forgotten Restoration Playhouse*, *Englische Studien*, 1905, xxxv, 283; J. Q. Adams, *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, p. 83. Professor Adams says that the theatre was opened "probably as early as June" (*Shakespearean Playhouses*, p. 381).

⁵ It may be traced in Mr. Lawrence's article just cited, and in the later investigation by Dr. Hotson, *Studies in Philology*, 1923, xx, 430 ff. Of the "Nurseries," it is enough for our purpose to recall Dryden's couplet:

Great Fletcher never treads in buskins here,
Nor greater Jonson dares in socks appear.

(*Mac-Flecknoe*, 1682, lines 79, 80). They are carefully treated by Mr. Lawrence in Herrig's *Archiv*, 1914, cxxxii, 301 ff.

The old actors at the Red Bull came in course of time under the control of Thomas Killigrew, Groom of His Majesty's Bed-chamber.¹ To this genial personage an "order for a grant" was issued on July 9, "to erect one Company of players w^{ch} shall be our owne Company;"² while by the terms of a grant made on August 21 he shared with Sir William D'Avenant an exclusive theatrical monopoly, destined to last, on paper at any rate, for nearly two hundred years.³ But meanwhile, at a date anterior to the conferring of either of these royal favors, and nearly two months before the first play witnessed by Samuel Pepys after the Restoration,⁴ a farce of Fletcher's had been acted at the Red Bull. H. G. Norton discovered the record in Thomas Jordan's *Nursery of Novelties in Variety of Poetry*.⁵ The farce in question was *The Tamer Tamed*, by which alternative and distinctly more alluring title we shall find *The Woman's Prize* commonly known. It was provided with a new prologue and epilogue, "followed," their discoverer tells us, "by 'a Speech' made at the Red Bull on the very day preceding, reproving the auditors in the pit for rising and coming upon the stage before the play was ended. It is necessary to mention this, inasmuch as it explains a passage in the ensuing, which is headed, '*A Prologue to the Comedy call'd The Tamer Tamed, June 24, 1660.*'" The pieces are sufficiently curious to deserve quotation:

¹ Adams, *Dramatic Records*, p. 95.

² Hotson, *Sir William Davenant and the Commonwealth Stage*, Appendix, p. 303.

³ Spencer, *Restoration Versions of Shakespeare's Plays*, pp. 28-31; Adams, *Dramatic Records*, pp. 87, 88.

⁴ Pepys alludes, however, to a performance of *Epicæne* on July 6 — which seems to be the first reference to a play's being given after the Restoration (Spencer, p. 22, note). For a very early representation of Tatham's *Rump*, see Schelling in the *Cambridge History*, viii, 121.

⁵ Reprinted in *Shakespeare Society Papers*, 1848, iv, 140-142. Ward (*English Dramatic Literature*, ii, 709), Halliwell (*Dictionary*, p. 241), Hazlitt (*Manual*, p. 257), and Nicoll (*History of Restoration Drama*, p. 71) seem to comprise the honorable minority who mention its existence.

Enter, reading the Bill.

The *Tamer Tam'd*, what do the Players mean?
 Shall we have *Rump* and *Rebel* in the scene?
 Juncto's of safety with the righteous rabble
 Of *Apron-Peers*, knights of Sir *Arthurs* Table?
 Shall *Baxter*, *Hewson*, *Scot*, and *Fox* be nam'd?
 These were our Tamers, but I hope they'r tam'd;
 For those were men, who (in their holy rage)
 Did things too horrid for a civil Stage,
 Unless our company should all comply
 To leave good language and speak Blasphemy.
 This Play, *The Tamer tam'd*, is *Fletcher's* wit,
 A man that pleas'd all pallats; therefore sit
 And see the last scene out: pray do not run
 Into confusion, till the Play be done.
 Should strangers see you mix among us thus,
 They would be apt to think you some of *Us*.
 Pray keep your seats, you do not sit in fear,
 As in the dangerous dayes of *Oliver*;
 It is not now (in good time be it spoke)
 "Enter the Red-coats," "Exit Hat and Cloak;"¹
 But such a prosper'ous change doth now attend ye,
 That those who did affront ye shall defend ye.

*The Epilogue, spoken by the Tamer, a Woman.*²

With license of my husband, I apply
 My self to this honour'd society.
 I fear I have offended the good laws
 Of household government, and given cause
 By my example (in this wilde assay)
 For some to put in practice what we play;
 And, 'cause the *Breeches* now come near the make
 Of *Petty-coats*, may willingly mistake:
 These are old quarrels, and no doubt came in
 When *Adam* digged, and Madam *Eve* did spin.
 They're ne'er the honester for that, the crime

¹ Cf. p. 4, above.

² It was a prologue by this same Jordan which introduced "the first Woman that came to Act on the Stage in the tragedy, called 'The Moor of Venice,'" perhaps on December 8, 1660 (see Spencer, pp. 53 ff.). It does not seem to me likely that the heading quoted in the text refers to "the first English" (or any other) actress.

Of bold Rebellion is older than Time.
 The breach of trust is old, the breach of Laws,
 Murder of Kings, witness the *good Old Cause!*
 But we exhibit to your Approbation,
 Not the *Rebellion*, but the *Reformation*.

Some idea of the company's repertory at this time may be gained from a list of plays preserved among the papers of Sir Henry Herbert, the contentious Master of the Revels. It is headed, "Names of the plays acted by the Red Bull actors," and, to quote Malone, "was probably furnished by them soon after the Restoration."¹ The list is as follows:

The Humorous Lieutenant	Elder Brother
Beggars Bushes	The Silent Woman
Tamer Tamed	The Weddinge
The Traytor	Henry the Fourthe
Loves Cruelty	Merry Wives of Windsor
Wit without Money	Kinge and no Kinge
Maydes Tragedy	Othello
Philaster	Dumboys
Rollo Duke of Normandy ²	The Unfortunate Lovers
Claricilla	The Widow

Nine items by Beaumont and Fletcher, three by Shakespeare.³

At the Cockpit, the company gathered by Rhodes seems to have been quite as favorably disposed towards our authors. Downes gives us a list of "the Plays there Acted" — apparently before Sir William D'Avenant had gained his patent from the king. This runs:

The Loyal Subject
 Maid in the Mill
 The Wild Goose Chase

¹ Adams, *Dramatic Records*, p. 82; Malone, *Variorum of 1790*, i, 2, 265.

² I. e., *The Bloody Brother*, which was generally referred to under this alternative title, or simply as *Rollo*.

³ Shirley's plays, three of which also appear on this list, enjoyed some popularity in the sixties. See McAfee, *Pepys on the Restoration Stage*, 1916, pp. 123-126.

The Spanish Curate
 The Mad Lover
 Pericles, Prince of Tyre
 A Wife for a Month
 Rule [a] Wife and have a Wife
 The Tamer Tam'd
 The Unfortunate Lovers
 Aglaura
 Changeling
 Bondman. With divers others ¹

It is to be noted that two of these names, *The Tamer Tamed* and (D'Avenant's) *Unfortunate Lovers*, had also appeared in the repertory of the old actors. The proportion of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays is this time even more striking.

Downes gives us some idea, also, of what the casts were. He tells us that

Mr. *Betterton*, being then but 22 Years Old, was highly Applauded for his Acting in all these Plays, but especially, For the Loyal Subject; The Mad Lover [etc.] . . . his Voice being then as Audibly strong, full and Articulate, as in the Prime of his Acting.² . . . Mr. *Kynaston* Acted . . . The Princess in the Mad Lover; . . . *Ismenia*, in the Maid in the Mill; and several other Womens Parts; he being then very Young made a Compleat Female Stage Beauty, performing his Parts so well . . . that it has since been Disputable among the Judicious, whether any Woman that succeeded him so Sensibly touch'd the Audience as he. Mr. *James Nokes* Acted first, The Maid in the Mill; after him Mr. *Angel*; *Aminta* in the

¹ *Roscius Anglicanus*, ed. Knight, p. 18.

² See also Downes, p. 52, where he gives these as the only Beaumont and Fletcher items in a final enumeration of Betterton's famous parts. Charles Gildon, in his *Life of Mr. Thomas Betterton*, 1710, has a long "Catalogue of the Plays, in which Mr. *Betterton* made some considerable Figure." It includes all the titles which concern us in Downes's list, *The Rivals* and *Valentinian*, both noted elsewhere by the old prompter, and finally, *The Prophetess* (pp. 175, 176). In the same *Life* Betterton is spoken of as winning applause when "about 22 Years of Age . . . by acting in *Loyal Subject*, the *Wildgoose Chase*, the *Spanish Curate*, and many more," with the "Company of Players in the *Cockpit*" (p. 5).

same Play was Acted by Mr. *William Betterton* . . . Mr. *Sheppy* Perform'd *Theodore* in the *Loyal Subject* . . . and several other Parts very well.¹

Samuel Pepys saw the last-mentioned play on August 18: "After dinner . . . to the Cockpitt play,² the first that I have had time to see since my coming from sea, *The Loyal Subject*, where one Kinaston, a boy, acted the Duke's sister, but made the loveliest lady that ever I saw in my life, only her voice not very good." The performance over, Pepys went to a tavern to drink and enjoyed the company of Kynaston, "and another that acted *Archas*, the *General*" — which may very well refer to Betterton.³

Our next notice is again from the diarist, who went on the afternoon of October 16, "to the Cockpit,⁴ where, understanding that *Wit without money* was acted, I would not stay, but went home." At first glance his entry is confusing, for, as we have seen, the comedy in question was not in the repertory of Rhodes's company but in that of the Old Actors. The explanation seems to be that at this time a temporary union of the companies took place, lasting until November.⁵ Meanwhile, on October 30, Pepys wrote: "In the afternoon, to ease my mind, I went to the Cockpit⁶ all alone, and there saw a very fine play called *The Tamer Tamed*; very well acted."

¹ Downes, pp. 18, 19.

² Probably the Cockpit in Drury Lane is intended, performances at that playhouse being in the afternoon, those at the Cockpit in Whitehall Palace, in the evening. See W. J. Lawrence, *Englische Studien*, xxxv, 284, 285. Lowe believed that it was at the Whitehall Cockpit (*Thomas Betterton*, 1891, p. 66).

³ Lowe, *Thomas Betterton*, p. 61.

⁴ Again that in Drury Lane, the time being afternoon.

⁵ Lowe, pp. 67-69; Spencer, pp. 35-40. Mr. Nicoll holds out against the explanation advanced by Lowe, but can only account for "Herbert's mention of Mohun at the Cockpit" as due to "an error," or "some slight rearrangement of the theatres." He does not mention Pepys's entry in this connection (*Restoration Drama*, p. 274).

⁶ Undoubtedly that in Drury Lane (cf. Spencer, p. 35, note).

3. FROM THE ORGANIZATION OF D'AVENANT'S COMPANY TO ITS OPENING AT LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS
(NOVEMBER, 1660-JUNE, 1661)

On November 5, 1660, the union of which I have spoken came to an end, D'Avenant signing articles of agreement on that day with Betterton and some of the other actors formerly associated with Rhodes. The company thus formed soon came to be known as the Duke's — from its patron, the Duke of York — while Killigrew's was, of course, the King's.

For the next few months the Duke's Company acted for the most part at Salisbury Court — or Whitefriars, as Pepys generally calls it. Lowe prints from the Lord Chamberlain's records a list of plays in which D'Avenant enjoyed sole rights "for two months from the date of the permission, . . . December 12, 1660."¹ *The Mad Lover*, *The Maid in the Mill*, *The Spanish Curate*, *The Loyal Subject*, and *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife* are included. The second of these was seen by Pepys on January 29 of the new year: "Went to Blackfryers (the first time I ever was there since plays begun), and there after great patience and little expectation, from so poor beginning, I saw three acts of *The Mayd in ye Mill* acted to my great content." Dr. Spencer has discussed "Blackfryers" at considerable length. It had been identified by Wheatley² as the "Pothecaries Hall" of Downes.³ But Pepys's entry seems to refer to a regular playhouse;⁴ the diarist, too, never fails to make it clear that such and such a visit was his first at that theatre, except in the single instance of Salisbury Court. He went there on February 9, 1661:

¹ *Thomas Betterton*, pp. 75, 76; Nicoll, pp. 314, 315.

² *Diary of Pepys*, 1893, I, 312.

³ Where, as the prompter tells us, the Duke's Company rehearsed two plays before the opening of their new theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

⁴ The old Blackfriars, Dr. Spencer notes, had been pulled down five years and more before this date.

"To Whitefriars to the Play-house, and saw *The Mad Lover*, the first time I ever saw it acted, which I like pretty well." Dr. Spencer argues,¹ accordingly, that the "Blackfryers" of the earlier entry is a blunder "on the part of the transcriber, the editors, or Pepys himself, for Whitefriars." To the latter, under that name, Pepys repaired on March 16, 1661, the play being *The Spanish Curate* — "in which he had no great content" — and on April 1, when he "saw part of *Rule a wife and have a wife*, which I never saw before, but do not like it." On April 2, however, he found "*The Little Thiefe*,"² at the same house, "a very merry and pretty play, and the little boy do very well."

It should be noted that four of the last five entries refer to plays reserved for D'Avenant's company in December of the year before. Colley Cibber has it that there was at this time, "a private Rule or Argument, which both Houses were happily ty'd down to, which was, that no Play acted at one House, should ever be attempted at the other. All the capital Plays therefore of *Shakespear*, *Fletcher*, and *Ben. Jonnson*, were divided between them, by the Approbation of the Court, and their own alternate Choice: So that when *Hart* was famous for *Othello*, *Betterton* had no less a Reputation for *Hamlet*."³ However the division was made, — and Cibber's statement has long been questioned,⁴ — it is certain that most of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays were given by the King's Company, which seems also to have enjoyed something like a monopoly in those of Jonson.⁵ Nay, turning to the records of that company, we shall see that it encroached more than once on D'Avenant's preserves; or, at any

¹ P. 67.

² This alternative title was commonly preferred in Restoration notices of *The Night Walker*.

³ *Apology*, 2d ed., 1740, p. 77; ed. Lowe, 1888, i, 91, which reads "Agreement" for "Argument."

⁴ By Genest, i, 404.

⁵ *Ibid.* See also McAfee, *Pepys on the Restoration Stage*, pp. 109-115.

rate, that some of our authors' plays were given at about the same time by both companies. Sir Henry Herbert kept track of the King's for dunning purposes, his record in this case being furnished with dates. It is headed: "Nouember '60. This is a List of plays acted by the Kings Companie at the Red Bull and the new house in Gibbon's Tennis Court near Clare Market." The fourth item reads: "Thursday the 8 No. Henry the fourthe. First Play Acted at the new Theatre." Dr. Spencer infers, accordingly,¹ that the performances of the fifth, sixth, and seventh of November were at the Red Bull, those from the eighth on, at Gibbons's Tennis Court. The list is far too long to quote in full. Beaumont and Fletcher plays up to January 1, 1661, were:

Monday the 5. Nouember. '60	Wit without money.
Wensday the 7. No.	The Beggars Bushe.
Tusday the 13. No.	Loue lies a Bleedinge. ²
Saterday the 17. No.	The mayds Tragedy.
Tusday the 20. No.	The Beggars Bushe.
Wensday the 21. No.	The Scornfull Lady.
Friday the 23. No.	The Elder Brother.
Saterday the 24. No.	The Chances.
Thursday the 29. No.	The Humorous Lieutenant.
Monday the 3. De.	A Kinge and no Kinge.
Thursday the 6. De.	Rollo, Duke of Normandy. ³

Pepys went to *Beggars' Bush* on the second date (November 20) on which Herbert records its performance: "To the new Play-house near Lincoln's Inn-Fields (which was formerly Gibbon's tennis-court), where the play of *Beggars' Bush* was newly begun; and so we went in and saw it, it was well acted: and here I saw the first time one Moone,⁴ who is said to be the best actor in the world, lately come over with the King, and indeed it is the finest play-house, I believe, that ever was in England." On

¹ Pp. 45-47.

² I. e., *Philaster*.

³ Adams, *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, pp. 116, 117.

⁴ Michael Mohun.

November 27, he saw "*The Scornfull Lady*," but without comment of any kind.

Up to this point, none of the Beaumont and Fletcher items set aside for D'Avenant seems to have been given by the King's Company, but let us turn again to Herbert's data. At the beginning of the new year 1661 the following are his only entries:

Monday the 9. Jan.	The weddinge.
Saterday the 19. Jan.	The Lost Lady.
Thursday the 31. Jan.	Argalus and Parthenia.
	Loyall Subject.
	Mad louer.
	The wildgoose chase.
	All's Loste by Luste.
March. 61	The mayde In the mill.
Aprill	A wife for a monthe.
May	The bondman. ¹

Malone says that there is a line drawn between *Argalus and Parthenia* and *The Loyal Subject*, and differs from Halliwell-Phillipps, our only other authority, in printing the next items thus:

Feb.	Loyal Subject.
	Mad Lover.
	The Wild-goose Chase.
1661. March }	All's Loste by Luste.
April }	The Mayd in the Mill.
May }	A Wife for a Monthe.
	The Bondman. ²

Three of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays mentioned in this list had been reserved for D'Avenant, his lien

¹ Adams, pp. 116, 117, following Halliwell-Phillipps's *Collection of Ancient Documents*, p. 34.

² Adams misprints:

1661. March }	All's Loste by Luste
April }	The Mayd in the Mill
May }	A Wife for a Monthe

The arrangement in the text is that of the 1790 edition of *Shakespeare*, i, ii, 266; the 1800 *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the English Stage*, p. 340; and the 1803 *Shakespeare*, iii, 330.

on them to remain in force for two months beginning December 12, 1660. Massinger's *Bondman*, moreover, was seen by Pepys no less than six times in 1661 at Whitefriars and Lincoln's Inn Fields.¹ Thus, unless we are to assume that the entries just quoted represent some sort of interpolation, and really refer to performances by the Duke's Company² (which seems improbable), they indicate, pretty certainly, that immediately after the expiration of D'Avenant's injunction the King's Company had made an extended foray into the territory of their rivals.

Pepys saw none of the five that spring, though making frequent visits to Vere Street. He writes of *Beggars' Bush* at "the Theatre,"³ January 3, 1661, that it was "very well done; and here the first time that ever I saw women come upon the stage." Next day he visited *The Scornful Lady* — again "acted very well." On February 12 we find him going "by water to Salisbury Court playhouse, where not liking to sit, we went out again, and by coach to the Theatre, and there saw *The Scornfull Lady*, now done by a woman, which makes the play appear much better than ever it did to me." Between these two dates, on January 25, Sir John Evelyn wrote: "After divers yeares since I had seen any play, I went to see acted *The Scornful Lady*, at a new theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields."⁴ It may be

¹ March 1, 19, 26; May 25; November 4, 25. He went to Rowley's *All's Lost by Lust* at the Red Bull on March 23, speaking of the actors as "common fellows."

² Malone seems to draw a distinction between the plays written above the mysterious line and those below. "Between the play entitled *Argalus and Parthenia*, and *The Loyal Subject*, he (Herbert) has drawn a line; from which, and from other circumstances, I imagine that the plays which I have printed in italics [i.e., those above the line] were exhibited by the Red Bull actors, who afterwards became the king's servants" (*Shakespeare*, 1790, 1, ii, 265). There can be no question, however, as to most of the later entries below the line.

³ Pepys ordinarily refers to the Vere Street playhouse by this name. See, however, Spencer, p. 70, note, on the *Hamlet* of November 27, 1661.

⁴ *Diary*, ed. Bray-Wheatley, 1879, ii, 122.

remembered that the younger diarist had spoken of the Vere Street theatre as "the new playhouse near Lincoln's Inn Fields."¹

Pepys made further visits: to *A King and No King*, March 14, "well acted"; to *Rollo*, March 28, "ill acted"; to *The Chances*,² April 27, without comment; and to "the latter end of *The Mayd's Tragedy*," May 16, — "which I never saw before, and methinks it is too sad and melancholy," — an observation which is interesting in more than one connection. Perhaps Kynaston played Evadne. Colley Cibber tells us: "Tho' . . . Women were not admitted to the Stage, 'till the Return of King Charles, yet it could not be so suddenly supply'd with them, but that there was still a Necessity, for some time, to put the handsomest young Men into Petticoats; which Kynaston was then said to have worn, with Success; particularly in the Part of *Evadne*, in the *Maid's Tragedy*, which I heard him speak of."³

By the same company, presumably, but at the Cockpit in Whitehall,⁴ Pepys also saw "*The Humersome Lieutenant*" on April 20 "acted before the King, but not very well done." He was satisfied, however, with "the manner of it, and so many great beauties."

¹ November 20, 1660 (see above, p. 15; and Spencer, p. 72, note). For the early history of this playhouse, see Hotson, *Sir William Davenant and the Commonwealth Stage*, pp. 192 ff.

² Miss McAfee believes this to have been the celebrated alteration of the play by Buckingham, but quotes Genest, i, 67, who was referring to a later performance (*Pepys on the Restoration Stage*, pp. 82, 83, note). Lady Burghclere, on what authority I know not, says that "in 1661 he [Buckingham] brought out a play — *The Chances* — adapted from Beaumont and Fletcher, a play with which Mr. Pepys was well pleased, when he saw it performed some years later at the King's House" (*George Villiers Second Duke of Buckingham*, 1903). It seems unlikely, however, that the alteration was acted so early as this. See pp. 31 ff., below.

³ *Apology*, 1740, p. 100.

⁴ Pepys got in "by the favor of one Mr. Bowman," and went to drink after the performance, "it being about twelve at night."

4. FROM D'AVENANT'S OPENING AT LINCOLN'S INN
FIELDS TO THE OPENING OF THE THEATRE ROYAL
IN DRURY LANE, JUNE 1661-MAY 7, 1663

That excellent dramatic historian, R. W. Lowe, has shown beyond a peradventure that D'Avenant's new house, called variously "the Duke's," "the Opera," and "the Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields," was opened some time in June 1661.¹ This date marks the beginning of the picture-stage era; "neither scenery nor opera had been seen upon the Restoration-stage" before.² The preference of Pepys for the other house, and the smaller Beaumont and Fletcher repertory at this, make our records for the next two years perceptibly lopsided. And the Duke's must be dismissed for the present with just two notices: ³ Mr. Pepys went on December 2, 1661, "to the Opera, to see *The Mad Lover*,⁴ but not much pleased with the play"; and again on April 1, 1662, when he "saw *The Maid in the Mill*, a pretty good play." The reader may be reminded, in passing, that both pieces had been among those set aside for D'Avenant's company, but given by their rivals, if we may believe the Herbert papers, in the spring of 1661.

It is very different with the King's Company. Pepys saw *The Tamer Tamed* "well done" on July 31, 1661; *The Elder Brother* "ill acted" on September 6; *A King and No King* "very well done" on September 26; and *Father's Own Son* two days later — "a very good play, and the

¹ *Thomas Betterton*, p. 84. See also Spencer, pp. 68-71; and for the theatre itself, Hotson, *Sir William Davenant and the Commonwealth Stage*, pp. 195 ff., 236 ff.

² W. J. Lawrence, *The Elizabethan Playhouse*, Second Series, p. 138.

³ Some further memoranda from another source will be taken up later: see p. 23, below.

⁴ A bacchanalian parody of Stremon's first song in iv, 1 ("Orpheus I am, come from the deeps below") appeared this same year in *The Merrie Drollery Compleat* (ed. J. W. Ebsworth, 1875, p. 69), and was reprinted in the subsequent editions of 1670 and 1691 (Ebsworth, p. 412).

first time I ever saw it.”¹ *Father's Own Son* was, as we have seen, another name for *Monsieur Thomas*.² On October 8 the same worthy took Martha Batten, Sir William's daughter, “to the Theatre in a frolique . . . and there shewed her part of the *Beggars' Bush*, without much pleasure.”³ For all that, he went again next day and saw *The Chances*, without comment, while on November 13 he mentions, and no more, a second visit to *Father's Own Son*. On the 18th he wrote: “To the Theatre to see *Philaster*, which I never saw before, but I found it far short of my expectations.”

Sir Henry Herbert's records, in which no play had been entered for many months, were resumed somewhat spasmodically in December. The King's Company gave *The Spanishe Curate* on the 20th; *The Tamer Tamed* on the 23d. *Philaster* was given on January 11, 1661-1662; *Rule a wife and Haue a wife* on January 28; *Kinge and noe Kinge* on February 15; *The Mayds Tragedy* on February 25; *Humorous Lieutenant* on March 1; *The Litle Theefe* on March 15; *Fathers owne son* on April 19; and finally, *Knight of the Burning Pestle* on May 5.⁴

Some of these names appear somewhat unexpectedly. Thus, *The Spanish Curate* and *Rule a Wife* had belonged to the Duke's Company in the previous December, and Pepys, it may be recalled, had seen both plays, and *The Little Thief*, at Whitefriars in the spring of 1661. On the present occasion, however, our diligent Clerk of the Acts confirms Sir Henry. He saw the *Spanish Curate* at “the

¹ All four are referred to as at “the Theatre”: see above, p. 17, note.

² See above, p. 6.

³ Three songs from this popular play — “Cast your caps and cares away” (ii, 1), a version of “He ran at me first in the shape of a ram” (iii, 1), and “Bring forth your conyskins” (*ibid*) — appeared this same year in the *Merrie Drollery*, and were reprinted in both the subsequent editions, and elsewhere. (See Ebsworth's ed., 1875, pp. 92, 109, 196; and his notes, pp. 363, 370, 373, 382, 411.) The last two songs were honored by a place in D'Urfey's *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 1707, iv, 81, 115.

⁴ Adams, p. 118.

Theatre" on January 1, 1661-1662, speaking of it as "well acted" and "a good play . . . only Diego the Sexton did overdo his part too much." He went, furthermore, to *Rule a Wife* on February 5 ("very well done" at "the Theatre"), and to *The Little Thief* on March 31. This time there is no mention of "the Theatre," though he calls the piece "a pretty play and well done." But on May 19 one reads: "After dinner Sir W. Pen and his daughter, and I and my wife by coach to the Theatre, and there in a box saw *The Little Thief* well done." From the same oracle we learn, finally, that on May 7 he saw the last act of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* at "the Theatre," but it "pleased him not at all."

Up to this point our chronicle has been built almost entirely on Pepys, Downes, and Sir Henry Herbert. A new authority now comes forward in the person of Edward Browne, eldest son of Sir Thomas Browne, and at this time a medical student at Cambridge. An occasional theatre-goer, he jotted down in his memorandum book, preserved in manuscript at the British Museum,¹ the plays he saw, with the several inns or playhouses where they were given, and his financial outlay on each. Unfortunately he failed to affix dates, his list, however, bearing the general superscription "1662." Mr. Lawrence, who made some use of it, observed that "one house mentioned, the 'King's playhouse in Covent Garden' . . . was not opened until May 1663."²

Browne, by this time a Bachelor of Physic, settled at Norwich in the autumn of that year,³ and has left us a not uninteresting journal of his life there for the months following. How far back his earlier notes extend, I have been unable to ascertain. Mr. Lawrence has it that he

¹ Sloane MS., 1900.

² *Englische Studien*, xxxv, 286.

³ For Browne's life at this time, see Sir Thomas Browne's *Works*, ed. Wilkin, 1836, vol. i, pp. lxxv ff., 5, 6, 22 ff., 42, 44 ff.

"repaired to London . . . late in 1662,"¹ from which it would appear that the jottings concern plays acted during the season of 1662-1663.² They are not confined to performances at the London theatres, for Browne saw plays at "the Kings Armes Norwich,"³ "the Cardinalls cap in Cambridge,"⁴ and elsewhere in the provinces.

Taking up the London entries in order, we find that he went to *Beggars' Bush*,⁵ *Humorous Lieutenant*, and *Maid's Tragedy*, at "the new Theatre in Lincolnes Inne fields," writing "Kings players" against the first named, which stands at the head of the series. It may be recalled that both Evelyn and Pepys had spoken of the Vere Street playhouse in similar terms,⁶ while the list would in itself have left little doubt as to which company was meant.

"At the Cock Pit in Drewry Lane" Browne visited *The Elder Brother*, *The Chances*, *The Tamer Tamed*, and *Wit without Money*. The initials "K. P.," which in the first file had stood directly under the ascription "Kings players," appears at the head of this, and Dr. Hotson believes them to indicate "that Killigrew's company (the King's Players) about this time performed also at the 'Cock Pit in Drewry Lane.'" ⁷ All of the plays recorded seem to

¹ It is perhaps worth mentioning in connection with this question of chronology that "Bartley's" *Cornelia*, which Browne saw at the Vere Street house, is set down in Herbert's bill as "a New Play," and dated "June 1. 62." (Adams, p. 118).

² I am not aware that the lists have ever been printed in full, though Halliwell was already acquainted with them in 1860 (see his *Dictionary of Old English Plays*, pp. 30, 143, etc.).

³ Including *The Little Thief*. For the Norwich performances, see Lawrence, *Englische Studien*, xxxv, 279, and note.

⁴ Including *Philaster* and *Wit without Money*.

⁵ Halliwell, *Dictionary of Old Plays*, p. 30, remarks: "Dr. Browne, in MS. Sloane 1900, mentions its being acted in 1662 'at the King Playhouse in Covent Garden.'" Dr. Hotson's transcript gives no warrant for this statement.

⁶ See above, pp. 15, 17. Dr. Hotson assumes that the same theatre was intended (*Studies in Philology*, xx, 433).

⁷ I.e., "probably . . . at the end of 1662." He contends that "Licens: Players," standing against the last play of this series "undoubtedly refers

have been theirs. Pepys, who somewhat neglected the company this season, saw "*The Scornfull Lady*, well performed" by them at the Whitehall Cockpit, November 17, and part of "*Witt without mony*" at "the King's Play-house," April 22, 1663. The latter he "did not like much, but coming late put me out of tune, and it costing me four half-crowns for myself and company." ¹

Three plays, *The Maid in the Mill*, *The Spanish Curate*, and (Massinger's) *Bondman*, were seen by Browne "at Salisbury or Dorset Court." ² None of the three, not even *The Bondman*, seems to have been the exclusive property of either company at this time. ³ But, as there is no evidence to show that the King's ever played at Salisbury Court, it seems likely that Betterton and his fellows, who had already put on all three pieces, were the actors. If the performances in question took place in 1662-1663, they had probably quitted their resplendent "Opera" temporarily — perhaps while it underwent repairs — to play at their former house, still standing at the time. ⁴ On October 21, 1661, Pepys had gone "to the Opera, which is now newly begun to act again, after some alteration of their scene." But a play ⁵ seen by him at Salisbury Court some six weeks before that date does not seem to have been done by the Duke's Company, who appeared at least once, meantime, at Lincoln's Inn Fields. ⁶

to Jolly's company at the same theatre." This troupe seems to have gone on tour early in the following year.

¹ Mrs. Katharine Philips saw the same comedy, October 18, 1662, at "a new Play-house" in Dublin (the Theatre Royal in Smock Alley), writing of it next day as "indifferently well acted" (*Letters of Orinda to Poliarchus*, London, 1705, p. 79). For what is known of the Dublin company, see Lawrence, *The Elizabethan Playhouse*, Second Series, pp. 191 ff.

² For the second title, see Cunningham, *Shakespeare Society's Papers*, iv, 89 ff.

³ See above, pp. 13, 16, 17, 19, 20.

⁴ Cunningham, p. 101.

⁵ *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, "ill acted" on September 9. Nicoll believes that Jolly's troupe was meant, p. 277, note. Cf. Hotson, *Studies in Philology*, xx, 433; Lawrence, *Englische Studien*, xxxv, 279, 284.

⁶ *Twelfth Night*, September 11.

Finally, Browne saw "at the King Playhouse in Covent Garden" *Rollo Duke of Normandy* and *The Loyal Subject*. Of the tragi-comedy we get only a glimpse more for some forty years.¹

5. FROM THE OPENING OF THE THEATRE ROYAL IN
DRURY LANE TO THE UNION OF THE COMPANIES
MAY 1, 1663—NOVEMBER 16, 1682

Here it may be well to look back for a moment. In the three years or so since the reopening of the theatres the following plays of Beaumont and Fletcher were certainly given: *Beggars' Bush*, *The Chances*, *The Bloody Brother*, *The Elder Brother*, *The Humorous Lieutenant*, *King and No King*, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, *The Loyal Subject*, *The Mad Lover*, *The Maid in the Mill*, *The Maid's Tragedy*, *Monsieur Thomas*, *The Night Walker*, *Philaster*, *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, *The Scornful Lady*, *The Spanish Curate*, *A Wife for a Month*, *The Wild-Goose Chase*, *Wit without Money*, *The Woman's Prize* — twenty-one in all, and apparently given unaltered.² By far the greater number fell to the lot of the King's Company, either from the beginning or subsequent to February 12, 1661, when D'Avenant's lease on a group of them expired. From the later date on, only five (*The Mad Lover*, *The Maid in the Mill*, *The Night Walker*, *Rule a Wife*, and *The Spanish Curate*) are recorded for the Duke's Company, and not one of these went unchallenged. We shall see that *The Mad Lover* and *The Maid in the Mill* remained in their repertory, while *The Night Walker* and *The Spanish Curate* passed to that of their rivals.³

¹ See below, p. 46.

² It may be just mentioned that Mr. Nicoll's enumerations of Beaumont and Fletcher plays given during the first years after the opening of the theatres are somewhat wanting in accuracy of detail (*History of Restoration Drama*, pp. 82, note, 169, note).

³ For *Rule a Wife*, see below, pp. 27, 41, 52, 54.

It is somewhat difficult to discover how many of Shakespeare's plays were acted during the same period. Pepys saw *Hamlet*, *Henry IV* (probably Part I), *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Othello*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Twelfth Night*, and (in an alteration by D'Avenant) *Measure for Measure*. To these must be added *Pericles*, listed by Downes under Rhodes's company,¹ and perhaps one or two items further. But the total would not seem to have amounted to more than a dozen at most;² and there is no reason to suppose that Dryden erred greatly when he wrote of Beaumont and Fletcher some five years later: "Their plays are now the most . . . frequent entertainments of the stage; two of theirs being acted through the year for one of Shakespeare's or Jonson's."³

Meanwhile the King's Company had removed to their new theatre, variously called Covent Garden, Brydges Street, the King's, the Theatre Royal, and by many dramatic historians, Drury Lane. The opening performance is dated, on the authority of Pepys, May 7, 1663. The company made no further move for nearly nine years, or, to be exact, until January 25, 1672, when their playhouse was destroyed by fire. Fortunately the Duke's Company had moved in the meanwhile to a new theatre in Dorset Garden,⁴ and the King's Company were able to use the Lincoln's Inn Fields House, just vacated by them. On November 26, 1674, they opened a new theatre of their own, the Second Drury Lane, which they occupied for the rest of the period under discussion. It should be remarked, also, that from June 5, 1665, until the autumn

¹ P. 18.

² Cf. Odell, *Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving*, 1920, i, 23 ff.; Nicoll, *Dryden as an Adapter of Shakespeare*, 1922, pp. 26 ff.

³ *An Essay of Dramatick Poesy* (Scott-Saintsbury, xv, 346). Nicoll finds that two of Jonson's tragedies and "fully seven" of his comedies were put on "between 1660 and May, 1663" (*History of Restoration Drama*, p. 169).

⁴ Opened November 9, 1674. It was often spoken of as the Queen's.

or early winter of 1666 the playhouses remained closed on account of the plague.¹

During these nineteen years the Beaumont and Fletcher plays continued to be entrusted, for the most part, to the older actors of the King's Company. Their rivals, as nearly as can be ascertained, gave only three already produced, and three more from among those which had lain dormant. Pepys witnessed two of the former. On September 10, 1668, he went with a considerable party to "the Duke's play-house, and there saw *The Maid in the Mill*, revived² — a pretty, harmless old play." On the eighteenth of the following February, he "saw *The Mad Lover*, which do not please me so well as it used to do, only Betterton's part [presumably Mennon] still pleases me."

The third is of particular interest as one of a number of our authors' pieces acted at the Inner Temple. Mr. F. A. Inderwick, editor of the records of that venerable institution, tells us that masques, which had flourished there before the wars, gave place after the Restoration to stage plays, one of which was performed at "All Hallows (the 1st November), and one at Candlemas (the 2nd February). And these plays, excepting at the times of plague and of the several fires were regularly given."³ Unfortunately the names of the pieces are frequently unrecorded. Of twenty, however, which we know were acted between 1660 and 1688 — mostly by the King's Company — seven were chosen from among those of our authors — Jonson scoring once, Shirley twice, Shakespeare not at

¹ Nicoll, p. 287. Dr. Spencer gives November 20 as the date when "public performances were resumed" (p. 100).

² Langbaine, writing in 1691, speaks of its having been revived "by the Duke's House" (*Account of the English Dramatick Poets*, p. 211). And Gildon, in his revised edition of the work just mentioned, has it that *The Maid in the Mill* was "reviv'd and sometimes Acted at the Duke's Theatre after the Fire of London" (*The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets*, 1698, p. 59).

³ *A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records*, vol. iii, p. lviii.

all.¹ Comedies were naturally favored for these "grand days," eighteen of them and two tragi-comedies making up the total. Mr. Inderwick describes the great hall where they were represented as an ancient edifice of considerable size, the windows "filled with large coats of arms."² The performance to which this serves as a necessary preamble occurred just before the union of the companies, when we find that twenty pounds was paid "to the Duke's players, for a play called *Rule a wife and have a wife*, on All Saints' day [1682], before the judges."³ Nicoll has discovered "an order" for the same comedy "to be given at Court on November 5, 1682, with command that the actors and the music should be ready 'that ye King may not stay for them.'"⁴ Malone, on the authority of the Luttrell MS.,⁵ tells us that the united companies began acting on November 16 — a date accepted by subsequent writers. But it is not, on the whole, surprising to see the powerful company headed by Betterton already dipping into the repertory of their quondam rivals a few days before.⁶

Two of the three Beaumont and Fletcher revivals indulged in by the Duke's Company do not seem to have been successful. Pepys saw *Cupid's Revenge*, "under the new name of *Love Despised*," August 17, 1668; and he was acute enough to perceive that it "hath something very good in it, though I like not the whole body of it."⁷ He adds: "This day the first time acted here."⁸ On Decem-

¹ Inderwick, vol. iii, pp. lix ff.

² III, 10.

³ III, 183. Among the Christmas expenditures of the year before was £1 "for sweetmeats for Madam Gwinn!" ⁴ P. 318.

⁵ *Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden*, 1800, I, i, 120, and note.

⁶ See below, pp. 41, 52, 54.

⁷ "The somewhat eccentric judge who preferred Tuke as a dramatic poet to Shakespeare at his very highest was on this occasion exactly and excellently right" (Swinburne, *Contemporaries of Shakespeare*, 1919, p. 155).

⁸ Downes, p. 29, also refers to its being acted, linking it with Habington's *Queen of Aragon*. Pepys saw this play on October 19.

ber 26 of the same year, going again to "the Duke of York's House," he found it "full of ordinary citizens. The play was *Women Pleased*, which we had never seen before; and, though but indifferent, yet there is a good design for a good play."

Meanwhile, by the same company had been given the first of the many alterations with which we shall have to deal. *The Rivals*, an insipid version of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* attributed to Sir William D'Avenant,¹ was seen by Pepys on September 10, 1664.² He found it "no excellent play, but good acting in it; especially Gosnell comes and sings and dances finely, but, for all that, fell out of the key, so that the musique could not play to her afterwards, and so did Harris also go out of the tune to agree with her." Harris acted Theocles, while Gosnell — once Mrs. Pepys's maid — probably preceded Moll Davis as Celania. Pepys saw "*The Rivalls*" again on December 2: "The play not good, nor anything but the good actings of Betterton and his wife and Harris." I do not know what part Mrs. Betterton played. The cast as it appears in the Quarto of 1668 runs:³ Arcon, Mr. Young; Polynices, Mr. Smith; Provost, Mr. Sandford; Theocles, Mr. Harris; Philander, Mr. Betterton; Cynopes, Mr. Underhil[l]; Heraclia, Mrs. Shadwell; Celania, Mrs. Davis; Leucippe, Mrs. Long. Downes speaks of the piece as "wrote by Sir *William Davenant*; having a very Fine Interlude in it, of vocal and Instrumental Musick, mixt with very Diverting Dances; Mr. *Price* introducing the Dancing, by a short Comical Prologue,⁴

¹ Langbaine had "heard Mr. *Cademan*, for whom . . . the play was printed, say it was writ by Sir *Will. D'Avenant*" (p. 547); and there would seem to be no reason to question the ascription.

² Mr. Nicoll, apparently overlooking this entry, dates the play "before December 1664" (p. 358). It was only listed in the *Term Catalogues* in November 1668 (i, 3); in the *Stationers' Register*, November 9 (ii, 392).

³ Also in Genest, i, 54.

⁴ Probably the lines of the First Countryman in the last scene of Act iii — imitated from those of Gerrold in *Two Noble Kinsmen*, iii, 5.

gain'd him an Universal Applause of the Town . . . all the Womens Parts admirably Acted; chiefly *Celia* [Cecilia], a Shepherdess being Mad for Love; especially in Singing several Wild and Mad Songs.

My Lodging it is on the Cold Ground, &c.

She perform'd that so Charmingly, that not long after, it Rais'd her from her Bed on the Cold Ground, to a Bed Royal. The Play by the Excellent performance; lasted uninterruptly Nine Days, with a full Audience."¹ Mrs. Knepp was gossiping with Pepys about Moll Davis and the bed royal in January 1668, and we may suppose that her appearance as Celania was at some revival not long before.² Mr. Nicoll gives us a last glimpse of *The Rivals*, finding it named in one of the lists of plays acted before royalty which he unearthed among the Lord Chamberlain's records. The warrant which mentions it dates the performance November 19, 1667, and the fee exacted by the Duke's Company indicates that the king saw it at the public theatre, not at court.³

To Mr. Nicoll we also owe a "list of the playes allowed to His Royall Highnesse Actors and none other has right to them,"⁴ dated August 20, 1668. The Beaumont and Fletcher items are: *Cupids Reuenge*, *The honest mans fortune*, *Woemen pleas'd*, *Witt at Seuerall Weapons*, and *The*

¹ Pp. 23, 24. "My lodging is on the cold ground" appears in *Merrie Drollery*, 1670 and 1691 (ed. Ebsworth, p. 290). Ebsworth says that it was burlesqued in James Howard's *All Mistaken*, 1672, v, 1 [p. 54], as "My lodging upon the cold floor is"; there described as "sung by Nelly" (*Westminster Drolleries*, 1885, p. xxxiii, note). Joseph Knight, having misquoted Genest to the effect that "Charles the 2nd did not take Mrs. Davis into keeping," devotes space to establishing the fact (*Roscius Anglicanus*, pp. ix-xi). What Genest really said was that "Charles the 2d did not take Mrs. Davis into keeping till 1668" (i, 55).

² Cf. Montague Summers, *Shakespeare Alterations*, 1922, p. xxxix.

³ Pp. 308, 309. For a fully annotated version of these valuable play-lists, see *The Times Literary Supplement*, September 14 and 21, and October 5, 1922; January 4, February 22, and March 15, 1923.

⁴ Nicoll, p. 315.

Woemen Hater or *The hungry Courtier*. One more title looks as if it belongs here: but the *faithfull Shepheard* is almost certainly not Fletcher's pastoral,¹ which appears on a similar list of plays reserved for the King's Company (to be cited), and was acted by them several times. Two of the pieces named above were, as we have seen, actually given during these years; of the others, apparently only *Wit at Several Weapons* saw the light — and that not until 1709.

The history of the King's Company is, from our point of view, far richer. Most of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays already presented continued in their repertory, while a few more were brought forward for the first time. It may be as well to consider the former group first, and, chronology being of less consequence in this case, to carry forward the record of each work one whole stage to the next milestone.

Beggars' Bush is mentioned by Downes, not indeed as a "Principal Old Stock Play" but as one of those "divers others" represented by the King's Company after moving to Drury Lane.² Pepys saw "a piece" of it on April 24, 1668, observing that he had not seen it before for "some years"; and Charles II attended a public performance on March 26, 1674.³

For *The Bloody Brother* Downes gives the following cast:

Rollo,	Mr. Hart.
Otto,	Mr. Kynaston.
Aubrey,	Mr. Mohun.
La Torch,	Mr. Burt.
Dutchess,	Mrs. Corey.
Edith,	Mrs. Marshal. ⁴

¹ It is probably to be identified as a translation of Guarini's *Pastor Fido*. Miss McAfee thinks that "*The Faithful Shepherd* . . . a Pastoral," seen by Pepys February 28, 1668 at the Nursery, was the same work (p. 202, note).

² Pp. 8, 9.

³ Nicoll, p. 307.

⁴ Pp. 5, 6. Genest thinks that Anne, the elder of the Marshal sisters, is meant (i, 380), but he sometimes confused them. Pepys speaks of Rebecca as "become a pretty good actor" in December 1666. (See McAfee, pp. 253 ff.; Downes, pp. 2, 3.)

It may be recalled that Burt, and perhaps also Hart, had appeared in the ill-omened production of 1648.¹ Downes speaks of Rollo as one of the parts in which Hart "excelled," and of the tragedy as a "Principal Old Stock Play" of the King's Company.² On April 17, 1667, Pepys went "to the King's playhouse . . . and saw a piece of *Rollo*, a play I like not much, but much good acting in it: the house very empty." However, on September 17, 1668, he saw it again, this time taking Knepp with him, and says that "for old acquaintance" it pleased him "pretty well." The play was given, before royalty, November 9, 1674, and April 19, 1675 — both times on the public stage.³ The venomous Rymer admits its popularity in the curious passage which follows: "We may, I think, conclude the success of this Play due chiefly to the Scenes for laughter, the merry jig under the Gallows, and where the Tragedy tumbles into the Kitchen among the Skoundrels that never saw buskin in their lives before. There the Pantler and Cook give it that relish which renders it one of the most followed entertainments in the Town."⁴ The high-pitched scene between Rollo and Edith in the last act ought to have been another attraction.

Downes speaks of *The Chances* as acted by the King's Company during these years, adding that Don John was one of Hart's notable parts in comedy.⁵ Pepys saw a performance, February 5, 1667, his entry reading: "A good play I find it, and the actors most good in it; and pretty to hear Knipp sing in the play very properly, 'All night I weepe'; and sung it admirably. The whole play pleases

¹ See above, p. 4.

² Pp. 8, 16.

³ Nicoll, pp. 306, 307.

⁴ *The Tragedies of the Last Age Consider'd and Examin'd*, 1678 (licensed July 17, 1677), p. 55. Kirkman's *Three Merry Boyes* may be recalled in this connection (p. 5, above), while for the general popularity of *Rollo*, see Rymer, p. 1; Edward Howard's *Women's Conquest*, 1671, Sig. A2.

⁵ Pp. 8, 16.

me well; and most of all, the sight of many fine ladies." Unfortunately, Mrs. Knepp's song appears neither in the original nor in the admirable revision by the Duke of Buckingham. Langbaine has the following notice of the latter: "*Chances*, a Comedy, reviv'd by the late Duke of *Buckingham*, and very much improv'd; being acted with extraordinary applause at the Theatre in *Dorset-Garden*, and printed with Alterations *Lond.* 4° 1682."¹ This later date is sometimes given as that of the production of Buckingham's play,² while one or two writers have set it as early as 1661.³ A passage from Dryden's *Defence of the Epilogue*, which appeared in the *Term Catalogues*, February 7, 1672,⁴ makes it reasonably certain that the alteration had already been acted before that date. After declaring that "the wit of this age is much more courtly" than that of the last, he goes on to say: "Fletcher's *Don John* is our only bugbear; and yet I may affirm, without suspicion of flattery, that he now speaks better, and that his character is maintained with much more vigour in the fourth and fifth acts, than it was by Fletcher in the three former."⁵ Some lines in the characteristic epilogue which accompanies the Villiers comedy make it exceedingly unlikely that this, at least, was written as early as 1661:

Besides the Author dreads the strut and meen
Of new prais'd Poets, having often seen
Some of his Fellows, who have writ before,
When *Nel* has danc'd her Jig, steal to the door,
Hear the pit clap, and with conceit of that
Swell, and believe themselves the Lord knows what.

¹ *Account of the English Dramatick Poets*, 1691, p. 207. In Charles Gildon's revision of Langbaine's work, the Villiers comedy is described as "Printed with Alterations 4to 1682. Oftentimes Acted with great Applause of late days at the Theatre in *Dorset Garden*, &c." (*Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets*, 1698, p. 57).

² By Dyce (vii, 217), followed by Mr. E. K. Chambers (*Var. Ed.*, iv, 442). Nicoll gives 1682 in the Hand List at the end of his *History*, but in another place has 1667 (p. 61, note; cf. 375).

³ See above, p. 18, note.

⁴ I, 96.

⁵ *Works*, ed. Scott-Saintsbury, iv, 239.

Madam Gwynn's first recorded appearance was in 1665.¹ I am inclined, then, to think that Pepys's *Chances* of 1667 was probably the alteration.² An anonymous writer assures us that in this "Mr. Hart played the Part of *Don John* to the highest Satisfaction of the Audience, the Play had a great run, and ever since has been follow'd as one of the best Entertainments of the Stage."³

For the *Elder Brother*, a "Principal Old Stock Play," Downes gives the following cast:

Charles,	Mr. Burt.
Eustace,	Mr. Kynaston.
Their Father,	Mr. Loveday.
The Uncle,	Mr. Gradwel.
Charles's Man,	Mr. Shottel.
Lady,	Mrs. Rutter.
Lilia Bianca,	Mrs. Boutel. ⁴

As Genest observes, the old prompter "would not give himself the trouble of looking into Fletcher," and inadvertently substitutes Lilia Bianca from *The Wild-Goose Chase* for Lily in *The Elder Brother*.⁵ An edition of the latter was entered in the *Term Catalogues*, November 26, 1677, "as it is acted at the Theatre Royal."⁶

The Humorous Lieutenant was chosen to open the Theatre Royal. Pepys wrote on May 7, 1663: "This day the new Theatre Royal begins to act with scenes *The Humorous Lieutenant*, but I have not time to see it." And on the next day he went "to the Theatre Royall, being the second day of its being opened. . . . The play was *The Humorous Lieutenant*, a play which hath little good in it, nor much in the very part which, by the King's command, Lacy now acts instead of Clun. In the dance, the tall

¹ Genest, i, 338; Knight in *Dictionary of National Biography*, viii, 844.

² This date is assigned for the production of Buckingham's play, but without explanation, by Genest (i, 67); Wheatley (*Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vi, 154, note); Ward (*English Dramatic Literature*, ii, 712); Halliwell (*Dictionary*, p. 45); Hazlitt (*Manual*, p. 37), etc.

³ *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, 1711, p. ix.

⁴ Pp. 6, 8.

⁵ I, 338.

⁶ I, 296.

devil's actions was very pretty." ¹ Downes, who gave the date mistakenly as "*Thursday* in *Easter* week being the 8th, Day of *April* 1663," ² again prints a cast:

King,	Mr. <i>Wintersel</i> .
Demetius,	Mr. <i>Hart</i> .
Seleucus,	Mr. <i>Burt</i> .
Leontius,	Major <i>Mohun</i> .
Lieutenant,	Mr. <i>Clun</i> .
Celia,	Mr[s]. <i>Marshal</i> . ³

He adds that "this Comedy was acted Twelve Days Successively," and calls it one of the company's "Principal Old Stock Plays." In an elegy "upon the Most Execrable *Murther* of Mr. *Clun*, On[e] of the *Comedeans* of the *Theator Royal*, who was Rob'd and most inhumanely Killed on Tuseday-night being the 2^d of *August*, 1664," ⁴ some of his famous rôles — Iago, Falstaff, Bessus — are enumerated: "And thy *Lieutenant* in his *Drink-mad-fight*." At the Theatre Royal, December 20, 1666, the play was graced by the presence of the king and queen; ⁵ and Pepys attended still another performance on January 23 following. From his account one might guess that a good deal of operatic garniture now embellished it. He calls it "a silly play . . . only the Spirit in it that grows very tall, and then sinks again to nothing, having two heads breeding upon one, and then Knipp's singing, did

¹ Cf. iv, 4, 11-44.

² A play-bill supporting this date, which appeared in Collier's *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, 1834, iii, 384, has long been recognized as a forgery. See *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, x, 99, 100, where the following points are made: (1) that the year is given, a custom not practised in early bills; (2) that April 8, 1663, did not fall on a Thursday but on a Wednesday, and in Lent; (3) that Pepys not only has the entries quoted, but on April 22 visited the Vere Street house, which on June 1 he speaks of as abandoned; (4) that (from Pepys again) Lacy, and not Clun, acted the Lieutenant. Lawrence adds still another point: that "the first Drury Lane theatre was never known as such during the decade of its existence" (*Elizabethan Playhouse*, Second Series, pp. 75 ff.).

³ So in Downes. Query, *Anne*.

⁴ Reprinted by G. Thorn-Drury, *A Little Ark*, 1921, pp. 30 ff.

⁵ Nicoll, p. 305.

please us. . . . Nelly,¹ a most pretty woman . . . acted the great part of Coelia to-day very fine, and did it pretty well."

A King and No King fared especially well. Downes terms it a "Principal Old Stock Play," and gives the following cast:

Arbaces,	Mr. Hart.
Tygranes,	Mr. Burt.
Mardonius,	Major Mohun.
Gobrias,	Mr. Winterset.
Lygones,	Mr. Cartwright.
Bessus,	Mr. Shottrel. ²
Arane,	Mrs. Corey.
Panthea,	Madam Gwin.

He adds that Arbaces was another of those parts in which Hart "excelled," and that Mohun "was Eminent for . . . Mardonius."³ Genest observes that the cast must be that of a performance before Nell Gwynn left the Theatre Royal,⁴ that is, before the summer of 1667.⁵ From Mr. Nicoll's bills we learn that the King visited it May 6, 1669, and again, April 23, 1675.⁶ In an edition of the play published in 1676 is another cast, which I take from a copy in the New York Public Library:⁷

Arbaces,	Mr. Hart.
Tigranes,	Mr. Kynaston.
Gobrias,	Mr. Winterset.
Bacurius,	Mr. Lydall.
Mardonius,	Mr. Mohun.
Bessus,	Mr. Lacy or Mr. Shottrell.
Lygones,	Mr. Cartwright.

¹ Nell Gwynn.

² Not Clun: see p. 34, above.

³ Pp. 5, 8, 16, 17. Hart's Arbaces is also alluded to in an *Elegy* some lines from which are quoted below, p. 38.

⁴ I, 338.

⁵ Nicoll, p. 288. See also p. 33, above.

⁶ Both performances being at the public playhouse (Nicoll, pp. 306, 307).

⁷ The title begins: "A king and no king. As it is now acted at the Theatre Royal, by his majesties servants." It was entered in the *Term Catalogues* on November 26 (i, 240). See also *Roscus Anglicanus*, ed. Knight, p. xxxiv, where the cast is given with some variations in spelling.

Two Swordmen,

Arane,
Panthea,
Spaconia,

Mr. Watson.

Mr. Haynes.

Mrs. Corey.

Mrs. Cox.

Mrs. Marshall.¹

Rymer bears further testimony to Hart's excellence as Arbaces,² and gives us one of our rare glimpses of stage business:

A sort of men who have remember'd *so* and *so*; and value themselves upon their *experience* . . . say . . . a *King* and no *King*, pleases . . . I say that Mr. *Hart* pleases; most of the business falls to his share, and what he *delivers*, every one takes upon *content*; their *eyes* are prepossest and charmed by his *action*, before ought of the *Poets* can approach their *ears*; and to the most wretched of *Characters*, he gives a lustre and *brilliant* which dazles the *sight*, that the *deformities* in the Poetry cannot be perceiv'd . . . *Arbaces* . . . no sooner comes on the Stage, but lays about him at so nauseous a rate, Captain *Bessus* in all Modesty to him, to mend the matter his friend shaking an empty skull, says '*Tis pity that Valour should be thus drunk.*'³

Langbaine informs us that *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* "was in vogue some years since, it being reviv'd by the King's House, and a new Prologue (instead of the old One in prose) being spoken by Mrs. *Ellen Guin*."⁴ Now Langbaine made repeated use of that curious work, the *Covent Garden Drollery* (1672),⁵ where there is a "Prologue to the *Knight of the burning Pestle*"⁶ which may

¹ A number of minor characters follow without actors' names. Genest overlooked this edition.

² *Tragedies of the Last Age*, 1678, pp. 5, 61.

³ *A King and No King*, i, 1, 148. The skull business was evidently Mohun's.

⁴ P. 211.

⁵ See below, pp. 41, 50, 51.

⁶ *Covent Garden Drolery, or a Collection, of all the Choice Songs, Poems, Prologues, and Epilogues* . . . Collected by R. B., pp. 78, 79.



very well be the one just referred to. This conjecture is rendered probable by the fact that an epilogue which immediately follows it was certainly spoken by Mrs. Ellen.¹ At any rate, the lines, which I believe have never been reprinted, are interesting enough in themselves to deserve inclusion here. Langbaine's statement dates the revival somewhere between 1665, when Nell Gwynn made her first recorded appearance, and the summer of 1667, when she quit the Theatre Royal.²

If any heer have ancient Records seen,
Of *Amadis* or doughty *Palmerin*,
Of Squire, and Dwarf, and of enchanted wood,
And taken true delight in Gyants blood.
Such we invite with confidence, to laugh
At the stout Acts and Monuments of *Ra'ph*;
Of *Ralph*, who humbly does each Lady greet,
And layes his *Burning Pestle* at her feet.
This to the learned; it does now remain,
We descend upward to the vulgar swain;
And gravely tell him, that our *Fletchers* wit,
Has here burlesqu'd all he himself had writ.
Burlesqu'd, that is has turn'd to ridicule,
As one would say, has wisely play'd the fool.
Mock-love, Mock passion, that is still to say,
He, as it were, has farcifi'd a Play.
This, Gallants, is that Play, which for your sake,
We now revive, and doubt not it will take.
For in our vertuous Age,
Not only every wit, Lampoons his brother,
But men are all burlosque to one another.
In *Burgundy* and *Mant*, the great ones rayle,
But their blind sides are found in Mum and Ale.
Therefore laugh on, and rally all you can,
For ther's no fop like to your absent man:
The world will laugh at all you do or say,
Then laugh you, for a clubs an equal lay,
As good fall on, since you are sure to pay.

¹ This has been assigned to Dryden's *Secret Love*, which was produced in March, 1667 (*Works*, ed. Scott-Saintsbury, ii, 509; Nicoll, p. 359).

² Knight in *Dictionary of National Biography*, viii, 844; Nicoll, p. 288.

The Maid's Tragedy, another "Principal Old Stock Play," is thus cast by Downes:

King,	Mr. <i>Wintersel</i> .
Melantius,	Major <i>Mohun</i> .
Amintor,	Mr. <i>Hart</i> .
Calianax,	Mr. <i>Shatterel</i> .
Evadne,	Mrs. <i>Marshal</i> . ¹
Aspatia,	Mrs. <i>Boutel</i> .

The old prompter has particular praise for Hart and Mohun in these parts.² An anonymous "*Elegy* on that Worthy and Famous Actor, Mr. *Charles Hart*, who departed this Life *Thursday August* the 18th., 1683," contains the following lines, which are of greater interest than they may seem to be at first glance:

Such Pow'r He had o'r the Spectators gain'd,
As forc'd a *Real* passion from a *Feign'd*.
For when they saw *Amintor* bleed, straight all
The House, for every Drop, a Tear let fall;
And when *Arbaces* wept by sympathy,
A glowing Tide of Wo gush'd from each Eye.³

There are at least five more references to performances of this tragedy in the sixties. Pepys saw it December 7, 1666: "To the King's playhouse, where two acts were almost done when I come in; and there I sat with my cloak about my face, and saw the remainder of *The Mayd's Tragedy*; a good play, and well acted, especially by the younger Marshall, who is become a pretty good actor, and is the first play I have seen in either of the houses since before the plague." On February 18, 1667, again visiting it, he was "vexed all the while with two talking ladies and Sir Charles Sedley . . . and by that means lost the pleasure of the play wholly, to which now and then Sir Charles Sedley's exceptions against both words and pronouncing were very pretty." On November 27

¹ Probably Rebecca: see the quotation from Pepys below.

² Pp. 5, 8, 16, 17.

³ Reprinted in Thorn-Drury's *Little Ark*, pp. 47 ff.

of the same year, the king attended a performance at Drury Lane;¹ while Mr. Pepys went on April 15, and May 9, 1668, finding it on both occasions "a good play." Rymer ascribes its popularity to the excellence of Hart and Mohun in the quarrel scene (iii, 2): "We may remember (how-ever we find this Scene of *Melanthius* and *Amintor* written in the Book) that at the Theater we have a good Scene Acted, there is work cut out, and both our *Aesopus* and *Roscius* are on the Stage together: Whatever defect may be in *Amintor* and *Melanthius*; Mr. *Hart* and Mr. *Mohun* are wanting in nothing. To these we owe for what is pleasing in the Scene; and to this Scene we may impute the success of the *Maids Tragedy*."²

Monsieur Thomas reappears in 1678, this time under the name of *Trick for Trick*, and after having been subjected to alteration at the hands of Thomas D'Urfey. A first edition of his version was listed in the *Term Catalogues* on June 22, "as it is acted at the Theatre Royal."³ The cast was: Sir Wilding Frolick, Major Mohun; Monsieur Thomas, Mr. Hart; Valentine, Mr. Griffin; Franck, Mr. Clark; Hylas, Mr. Goodman; Sir Peregreen, Mr. Powell; Launce, Mr. Haynes; three Physicians, Mr. Watson, Mr. Coysh, Mr. Perin; Cellida, Mrs. Bowtell; Sabina, Mrs. Corbett; Lucilla, Mrs. Mechant; a Whore, Mrs. Farlee; Mrs. Dorothy, Mrs. Knepp.⁴ Presumably the play was damned; at any rate we hear nothing more of it henceforward.

Langbaine says that he had seen *The Night Walker* "acted by the King's Servants, with great Applause, both in the City and Country,"⁵ and Genest supposes that these performances were before 1682.⁶ As Langbaine was

¹ Nicoll, p. 306. ² *Tragedies of the Last Age*, pp. 138, 139.

³ I, 320. Nicoll assigns the production to "c. March, 1677-78" (p. 361).

⁴ From the edition just mentioned. Genest gives it without some of the minor characters (i, 236).

⁵ *Account of the English Dramatick Poets*, p. 213.

⁶ *Account of the English Stage*, i, 349.

born in 1659, it is improbable that his playgoing had begun as early as 1660-1663. We know, in any case, that the comedy was represented at the Inner Temple under its alternative title of *The Little Thief* on November 1, 1664.¹

Philaster, mentioned by Downes as one of the "Old Plays" of the King's Company "acted but now and then,"² was performed before the king, November 16, 1667,³ and was seen by Pepys at "the King's playhouse" on May 30, 1668. Genest suggests that Hart and Nell Gwynn took part in this second performance,⁴ and cites the following lines from Settle's version of 1695:

That good old Play *Philaster* ne're can fail
But we Young Actors, how shall we prevail?
Philaster and *Bellario*, let me tell ye,
For these Bold Parts we have no *Hart*, no *Nelly*;
Those Darlings of the Stage, that charm'd you there.

But Nelly, as we have seen,⁵ had quit the King's Company nearly a year before. Part of the epilogue to this same alteration — the verses just quoted are from the prologue — is even more interesting.⁶

Ladies, to supplicate our Plays success,
Hither I am sent, a small ⁷ Embassadress,
Once our *Philaster* was a Lady's Play:
And if in the last Age so warm a Ray
From that high Sphear the glittering Boxes shin'd,
Shall Beauties bright Succession be less kind!
If he pleas'd then, he must your Favour share:
For Goodness is entail'd upon the Fair.

That the life of this tragi-comedy was not wholly dependent on the favor of the ladies is evinced by the fact that

¹ *Calendar of the Inner Temple Records*, iii, 25. £20 was disbursed to "his Majesty's players" for acting it.

² P. 8.

³ "At the Theatre" (Nicoll, p. 305).

⁴ I, 83.

⁵ P. 35, above.

⁶ I have not seen it referred to.

⁷ The epilogue was "spoken by a Girl."

a performance was given in the distinctly unfeminine atmosphere of the Temple Hall, November 1, 1671.¹ Langbaine informs us that "this Play was One of those that were represented at the old Theatre in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, when the Women acted alone. The Prologue and Epilogue were spoken by Mrs. *Marshal*, and printed in *Covent-garden Drollery*, pag. 18."² The unsavoury pieces in question are concerned not with the play, but with the plight of the actresses and the necessity of having "a beardless Prince," where of old there had been "a bearded princess." Genest identifies the performance with the time just after the burning of the Theatre Royal (January 25, 1673), when the King's Company was at Lincoln's Inn Fields.³ Finally, Charles II attended public performances on October 24, 1674, and May 23, 1676.⁴

Rule a Wife and Have a Wife, still another "Principal Old Stock Play," was presented with this cast:

Don Leon,	Major <i>Mohun</i> .
Don John Decastrio,	Mr. <i>Burt</i> .
Michael Perez,	Mr. <i>Hart</i> .
Cacafogo,	Mr. <i>Clun</i> .
Margareta,	Mrs. <i>Ann Marshal</i> .
Estisania,	Mrs. <i>Boutell</i> . ⁵

It may be added that Hart's Perez is particularly mentioned in the elegy already noted, Celadon in Dryden's *Secret Love* being his only other comedy part there cited.⁶ The presence of Clun dates the performance effectually

¹ *Calendar of the Inner Temple Records*, p. 89. It is uncertain from the entry whether "1 Nov." refers to 1671 or 1672, but Mr. Inderwick gives the former (p. lxxviii). The disbursement was "to the King's players."

² P. 213.

³ I, 146; Nicoll, p. 289. The *Drollery* was published in 1672. Mr. P. A. Daniel after quoting Langbaine remarks: "In Mr. Pepys's Diary we learn that in October 1664 the women were then acting alone" (*Var. Ed.*, i, 120). On October 11, 1664, Pepys notes that *The Parson's Wedding* "is acted by nothing but women at the King's house" (cf. October 4), but this was at Drury Lane, not Lincoln's Inn Fields.

⁴ Nicoll, pp. 307, 308.

⁵ Downes, pp. 3, 8.

⁶ See above, p. 38.

before August 2, 1664, when the comedian was "most inhumanely killed."¹ The comedy may have been given at court, February 14, 1667: one of two parallel lists found by Mr. Nicoll names it, the other names "*ffloras Vagaries*."²

The last Beaumont and Fletcher "Principal Old Stock Play" at this time was *The Scornful Lady*, to which Downes assigns the following cast:

Elder Loveless,	Mr. <i>Burt</i> .
Younger Loveless,	Mr. <i>Kynaston</i> .
Welford,	Mr. <i>Hart</i> .
Sir Roger,	Mr. <i>Lacy</i> .
The Lady,	Mrs. <i>Marshal</i> .
Martha,	Mrs. <i>Rutter</i> .
Abigail,	Mrs. <i>Corey</i> . ³

The conflicting bills, mentioned above, give *The Silent Woman* and *The Scornful Lady* for a performance at court, December 10, 1666.⁴ The latter was certainly represented there on November 21, 1668.⁵ Between these dates Pepys thrice mentions the play. On December 27, 1666, he saw it "well acted; Doll Common doing Abigail most excellently, and Knipp the Widow very well, and will be an excellent actor, I think. In other parts the play not so well done as used to be, by the old actors." "Doll Common" was Mrs. Corey.⁶ Going again on September 16, 1667, Pepys found "not one soul in the pit" at three o'clock,⁷ and turned his steps towards the

¹ See above, p. 34; Genest, i, 45.

² P. 305. Richard Rhodes's comedy had been produced at the Theatre Royal in 1663 (Nicoll, p. 371). For the history of *Rule a Wife* during these years, see also above, p. 27.

³ Pp. 6, 8.

⁴ Nicoll, p. 305.

⁵ Nicoll, p. 306.

⁶ *Diary*, ed. Wheatley, viii, 188, note.

⁷ The hour of commencing was probably three-thirty (Lowe's *Betterton*, pp. 15, 16, cited by Lawrence, *Elizabethan Playhouse*, Second Series, p. 154, note).

Duke's house, where there was "pretty store of company" for Cooke's *Tu Quoque*. Returning, however, after this had let out, he found "a pretty good company" at *The Scornful Lady*. Finally, on June 3, 1668, the inveterate playgoer "saw good part" of it, but this time without comment.

In the prologue to Dryden's *Marriage à la Mode*, produced by the King's Company in 1672, we read:

Our City Friends, so far will hardly roame,
They can take up with pleasures nearer home.
And see gay Showes, with gaudy Scenes else where,
For 'tis presumed they seldom come to hear:
But they have now tane up a glorious trade,
And cunning *Morecraft*, strut in masquerade;
Here's all our hope, for we shall show to d[ay],
A masquing Ball, to recommend our Play.

These lines are from a version of the prologue in the *Covent Garden Drollery*; ¹ that in the first edition of the play has "cutting" for "cunning." Now "cutting *Morecraft*" is pretty plainly an allusion to *The Scornful Lady*,² and it has been conjectured, accordingly, that a performance of that comedy by the Duke's Company occurred about this time.³ But, since *The Scornful Lady* had been set aside as the property of the King's Company three years before ⁴ and was regularly played by them, this supposition seems unlikely. Another is that Ravenscroft's *Citizen Turned Gentleman* is alluded to; ⁵ and, despite a seeming discrepancy in the dates,⁶ this may have been the case. At any

¹ P. 7. ² Where the usurer is twice given that appellation (v, 4).

³ For instance, by G. R. Noyes, Cambridge *Dryden*, 1909, p. 943, and *Selected Dramas of John Dryden* [1910], p. 448.

⁴ See below, p. 51.

⁵ See Noyes, as above; *Works*, ed. Scott-Saintsbury, iv, 258, note; *Prose Works*, ed. Malone, I, i, 107, note.

⁶ Nicoll dates the production of *Marriage à la Mode* "c. May, 1672" — it would certainly not seem to have been later than May 28 — and Ravenscroft's play in July (pp. 359, 370). The epilogue to Dryden's *Secret Love* in this same *Drollery* undoubtedly hits at *The Citizen Turned Gentleman* (Noyes, as above).

rate, it is worth noting that Morecraft became a stock name for a usurer. Dryden thus employs it in *The Second Epode of Horace* (1685);¹ while both before, in the *Essay of Dramatick Poesy* (1668), and after, in *A Parallel of Painting and Poetry* (1695), he refers directly to Fletcher's character—in the second case calling him "cutting Morecraft."² For instances of the application of the name to usurers and covetous persons in general, see Oldham, *Satyr in Imitation of the 3rd of Juvenal*³ (1682); Dennis, *The Impartial Critic* (1693);⁴ and *The Athenian Mercury*, for January 25, 1696, where there are verses headed, "Morecraft the Usurer over a heap of bad money." A somewhat similar use is made of Sir Roger, from the same play, in the prologue to Mrs. Behn's *Younger Brother* (1696):

In what can we oblige? Cou'd we present you
With Mistress young, and safe, it wou'd content you;
Then Husbands, weary'd out with Spouse alone,
And hen-peck'd Keepers that drudge on with one,
I fancy hither wou'd in Crouds resort. . . .
Men of all Stations, from the Nobles, down
To grave Sir *Roger* in his Cap and Gown.⁵

¹ This Morecraft said within himself:
Resolved to leave the wicked town,
And live retired from his own,
He called his money in:
But the prevailing love of pelf
Soon split him on the former shelf, —
He put it out again.

(*Works*, ed. Scott-Saintsbury, xii, 372.) W. D. Christie, in a note on these lines, hazards the statement that "Morecraft was a rich city usurer," and adds that "Mr. R. Bell says he was a hair-dresser but this is probably a conjecture from the epithet cutting." (*Globe Dryden*, 1902, p. 415.)

² Scott-Saintsbury, xv, 327; xvii, 328.

³ *Poems and Translations*, 1683, p. 182. This last reference was noted, and I believe misinterpreted, by Christie.

⁴ In Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, iii, 160.

⁵ Ed. Summers, iv, 314. Mr. Summers says that Sir Roger was "a common nickname for any clergyman," and of course recognizes its origin (pp. 419, 420).

A performance of *The Scornful Lady* was given at the Inner Temple on All Saints' Day, 1675 by the King's players;¹ while an edition listed in the *Term Catalogues* July 5, 1677, describes it as "now acted at the Theatre Royal."²

Of the next three plays there is less to be said. Pepys saw *The Spanish Curate* "revived" at the King's playhouse on May 17, 1669. He calls it "a pretty good play." It was also acted before an Inner Temple audience on Candlemas Day, 1675-1676, again by "the King's players."³ Pepys had been to *The Wild-Goose Chase*, January 11, 1668 — "which I never saw, but have long longed to see it, being a famous play, but as it was yesterday I do find that where I expect most I find least satisfaction, for in this play I met with nothing extraordinary at all, but very dull inventions and designs." *Wit without Money* is referred to by Langbaine as "a Comedy which I have seen acted at the Old House in little *Lincolns-Inn-Fields* with very great Applause; the part of *Valentine* being play'd by that compleat Actor Major *Mohun* deceas'd. This was the first Play that was acted after the Burning the King's House in *Drury-lane*: a New Prologue being writ for them by Mr. *Dryden*."⁴ Malone dates this performance February 26, 1672.⁵ Mr. Dryden's prologue is devoted to the sad predicament of the actors.⁶

Another of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays already produced since the Restoration, *The Woman's Prize*, was twice put on before the king: at court, November 9, 1668;

¹ *Calendar of the Inner Temple Records*, p. 108.

² I, 285. This edition is not mentioned by Bond (*Var. Ed.*, i, 356, 357): probably it was the missing "seventh."

³ P. 100.

⁴ P. 216.

⁵ *Prose Works of Dryden*, I, i, 76, note, from a manuscript copy of the prologue in the British Museum (MS. Birch 4455, art. 6), where the piece is described as "spoken at the Duke's *Old Theatre* in *Lincoln's Inn Fields* (after the King's was burnt) by the King's players" (*ibid.*).

⁶ Scott-Saintsbury, x, 314.

and at the public theatre, December 8, 1674.¹ The earlier performance is also mentioned in a news-letter of November 10, 1668, found among the Le Fleming Manuscripts: "9th, A play, *The Tanner tanned*, is appointed for this evening in the new theatre at Whitehall."² It may be added that John Lacy's *Sauny the Scot* — seen by Pepys as early as April, 1667, at the Theatre Royal, but not printed till 1698 — concludes thus (Petruchio speaking):

Now let us in, and Eate, the Work is done,
Which neither Time nor Age can wear from Memory;
I've *Tam'd the Shrew*, but will not be asham'd,
If next you see the very *Tamer Tam'd*.

Dr. Spencer suggests that Fletcher's farce "was often, and perhaps regularly, played after each production of *Sauny*."³ This may quite conceivably have been the case in the sixties and seventies, beyond which the former does not seem to have survived.

Of the two remaining plays given during the first years of the Restoration period, there is scarcely a trace. *The Loyal Subject* was represented once at Dublin,⁴ *A Wife for a Month* seemingly not at all.

On the other hand, eight at least, and probably nine of our authors' plays were added to the repertory of the King's Company during these years. Taking them up in the order of production, we find that Mr. Pepys went to "*The Faithfull Sheeheardesse*," at "The Royall Theatre," June 13, 1663. His entry proceeds: "A most simple thing,

¹ Nicoll, pp. 306, 307. It is both times called *The Tamer Tam'd*.

² *Le Fleming MSS.*, p. 60 (*Historical Manuscript Commission, Twelfth Report*, Appendix vii). See also the *Times Literary Supplement* for March 29, and April 5, 1923, letters by Mr. F. G. Blair and Mr. Allardyce Nicoll.

³ P. 489.

⁴ *Calendars of State Papers, Ireland, 1669-1670*, p. 123; also noted by Lawrence (*Elizabethan Playhouse*, Second Series, p. 195). The performance (May 3, 1670) is thus described: "Tuesday in the afternoon his Excellency went to the Theatre, where *The Loyal Subject* . . . was acted. The house was full of all the ladies and nobility in town," etc. (Letter from Sir Ellis Leighton.) See also p. 23, note, above.

and yet much thronged after, and often shown, but it is only for the scenes' sake, which is very fine indeed and worth seeing; but I am quite out of opinion with any of their actings, but Lacy's, compared to the other house." He saw the pastoral again, October 14, 1668, "that we might hear the French Eunuch sing, which we did, to our great content; though I do admire his action as much as his singing, being both beyond all I ever saw or heard."¹ By February 26, following, the play had apparently outlasted its welcome, Pepys assuring us that there were not "as I could tell the people, so many as to make up above £10 in the whole house." The diarist found a cause for this in the fact that "a new play," Shadwell's *Royal Shepherdess*, was at the other house. It may be added that "The Faithfull Sheapherdess . . . as it is with many alteracōns lately acted by his now Mats servts at his Theatre Royal" was entered in the *Stationers' Register* on March 17, 1664-1665.² There is no trace of these "alteracōns" in the British Museum copy of the pastoral, licensed March 17.

On January 2, 1667, Mr. Pepys visited *The Custom of the Country*, "the second time of its being acted, wherein Knipp does the Widow [Guiomar] well; but of all the plays that ever I did see, the worst — having neither plot, language, nor anything in the earth that is acceptable; only Knipp sings a little song admirably. But fully the worst play that ever I saw or I believe shall see." Going to it again, "after a bad dinner," August 1, 1667, he found "the house mighty empty — more than ever I saw it — and an ill play." Dryden's famous pronouncement in his preface to the *Fables* (1700) probably applies to about this time. "There is more bawdry in one play of Fletcher's, called *The Custom of the Country*, than in all

¹ Pepys had heard him twice before, on the 10th and 12th, but does not name the play.

² II, 364.

ours together. Yet this has been often acted on the stage, in my remembrance. Are the times so much more reformed now, than they were five-and-twenty years ago?"¹

The Sea Voyage was pretty certainly seen by Pepys on September 25, 1667, his entry running: "The play was a new play, and infinitely full: the King, and all the Court almost there. It is *The Storme*, a play of Fletcher's; which is so-so, methinks; only there is a most admirable dance at the end, of the ladies, in a military manner, which indeed did please me mightily." The lists unearthed by Mr. Nicoll are contradictory at this time, the first (which he regards as the more reliable) having the following entry:

Sept. 27 [1667] *The Sea Voyage*
His Ma^{ty} had two boxes at Y^e Theatre.

The second "reads for '27,' 25TH,"² and the entry of Pepys seems to clinch that date. The diarist took his wife next day, liking the play "as I did yesterday, the principal thing extraordinary being the dance, which is very good." Under its new title, the comedy is mentioned by Dryden in his prologue to *The Tempest*, acted by the Duke's Company in November of the same year:³

The storm, which vanished on the neighboring shore,
Was taught by Shakespeare's *Tempest* first to roar.
That innocence and beauty, which did smile
In Fletcher, grew on this enchanted isle.
But Shakespeare's magic could not copied be.⁴

With this opinion Pepys agreed, after going "without much pleasure" to *The Storme*, March 25, 1668 — "it

¹ Scott-Saintsbury, xi, 243, 244.

² Nicoll, p. 306. For his expression of preference in favor of the first list, see *The Times Literary Supplement*, September 21, 1922.

³ Nicoll, p. 358; Scott-Saintsbury, iii, 109 (cf. Dryden's preface to the same play, iii, 106).

⁴ Langbaine understood the allusion (p. 180).

being but a mean play compared with *The Tempest*, at the Duke of York's house, though Knepp did act her part very well." ¹ His last reference is on May 16th of the same year when he gives the play its conventional title: "To the King's playhouse, and there saw the best part of *The Sea Voyage*, where Knepp do her part of sorrow very well."

The bills discovered by Nicoll point to performances of *The Island Princess* before royalty on November 6, 1668, and January 7, 1669.² On the second occasion Pepys attended: "To the King's playhouse, and there saw *The Island Princesse*, the first time I ever saw it; and it is a pretty good play, many good things being in it, and a good scene of a town on fire. . . . The jade Nell come and sat in the next box; a bold merry slut." On February 9 he waxes enthusiastic, finding it "an excellent play" which he liked "mighty well . . . and here we find Kinaston to be well enough to act again, which he do very well." On April 23, though "in an ill humour," he writes: "To the King's playhouse and saw *The Generous Portugalls*, a play that pleases me better and better every time we see it." The version used at these performances was an anonymous adaptation, inoffensive in quality, which appeared in the *Term Catalogues*,³ November 22, 1669, as "*The Island Princess, or The Generous Portugal*. A comedy, acted at the Theatre Royal by His Majesty's Servants." It had been licensed on May 31 of the same year. The full cast given in this edition (which Genest quotes only in part⁴) runs: King, Mr. Kenniston; Armusia, Mr. Hart; Rudyas, Mr. Moon; Christophero, Mr. Bell; Emanuel, Mr. Beeston; Soza, Mr. Burt; Pyniero, Mr. Shotterel; Pedro, Mr. Harris; Governour, Mr. Cartrite; Bakam, Mr. Watson; Syana, Mr. Grayden;

¹ Genest says she "acted Aminta" (i, 81), and this is borne out by the next entry.

² Nicoll, p. 306.

³ I, 20.

⁴ I, 93.

Captain of the Guard, Mr. Lydall; Quisara, Mrs. Marshall; Quisana, Mrs. Corey; Panura, Mrs. Hughes. Later warrants indicate that it was represented at the public theatre, December 17, 1674, and at Whitehall, June 7, 1675.¹

Pepys saw *The Coxcomb* on March 17, 1669: "The first time acted, but an old play, and a silly one, being acted only by the young people."² The king attended a performance six days later:³ but the comedy then disappears. Langbaine observes that it "was reviv'd at the Theatre-Royal, the Prologue being spoken by *Jo. Hains*."⁴ For which, Gildon, a progressive in matters theatrical and fond of recasting his conservative predecessor's statements, wrote: "Revived and Acted at the Theatre Royal, but met with little Success."⁵

Probably on Candlemas 1670, *The Little French Lawyer* enjoyed its only recorded performance in the Restoration period, being acted, appropriately enough, at the Inner Temple.⁶

Two more revivals are mentioned by Langbaine. Of *The Double Marriage* he writes: "A Tragedy, which has been reviv'd some years ago; as I learn from a new Prologue printed in *Covent-Garden Drollery*, p. 14."⁷ This prologue is wholly devoted to the long absence of the

¹ Nicoll, p. 307.

² For the young people, see Lawrence, *Restoration Stage Nurseries*, Herwig's *Archiv*, cxxxii, 301; Spencer, p. 62, note.

³ Nicoll, p. 306.

⁴ *Account of the English Dramatick Poets*, 1691, p. 208. Pepys had seen the comedian as early as March 7, 1668.

⁵ *Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets*, 1698, p. 58.

⁶ *Calendar of the Inner Temple Records*, p. 73. In the account of Sir Heneage Finch, Treasurer, from November 8, 1669, to November 7, 1670, stands the item: "Disbursements. To the King's players, for acting '*The Little French Lawyer*,' 20 li." As *Sir Martin Marall* was acted on All Saints, 1670, the earlier "grand day" was probably meant (cf. p. 26, above).

⁷ P. 208. Gildon probably does no more than reword this when he says that the tragedy "was Reviv'd some Years since, but met not with that success expected" (p. 58). He may, however, refer to a later production; compare p. 57, below.

beau monde, and was probably written for a production early in the autumn. Mrs. Behn saw fit to attach it to two of her plays, *Abdelazar* (1677) and *The Widow Ranter* (1690).¹ Langbaine is equally vague in speaking of *The Pilgrim*: "A Comedy which was reviv'd some years since, and a Prologue spoke, which the Reader may find in *Covent-garden Dollery*, p. 12."² In both cases the appearance of the *Drollery* in 1672 is the only clue to the date.³ In the second, the prologue points to the play's being given in an altered form:

Our Author once was one that drove a trade,
Till pinching some odd Customers (as 'tis said)
Shop was shut up forthwith, and from that fall
Like broken Tradesmen humbly took a stall.
And fell to Cobling, all that he has done,
Is to peice up what *Fletcher* had begun.
He dares make nothing new, for fear some may
Turn that to earnest which he meant a Play.
Suppose a Painter should a Story draw,
And invent postures which he never saw,
With several looks, to one you may suppose
He gives grave looks, another a great Nose.
Would you not laugh if one of gravity
Should see't, and swear by this the Rogue meant me,
Or one lead by th' Nose something too high,
Should see the peice and swear, judge me that's I.
Another figure may be finely drest,
Painted in Feathers and a gaudy Vest.
Should therefore a Gallant that weres good store,
Swear I am Painted by this Son of a whore.
This is the case, and now be judge I pray,
Whether the Poet be in fault or they.
A Poet from his fancy drawes alone
They that the likeness find make it their own.
Yet let them at least not seem to know it,

¹ *Works*, ed. Summers, ii, 6; iv, 309.

² P. 213.

³ The other prologues and epilogues in the volumes are, almost without exception, of the late sixties. Pepys mentions neither play, and it is conceivable that the productions occurred between the close of his diary (May, 1669) and the publication of the *Drollery*.

But Pox on't the business that they do will shew it,
 Yet such perhaps may justly cry to day,
 Hang him, he that finds fault with us can't mend a Play,
 Then hiss him off and let him learn to be,
 Wise, and grow rich, and leave off *Poetry*.

A ninth revival may have taken place. In one of Mr. Nicoll's bills may be found: "Apr. 2^d [1677] The Capt. or Towne Misse [£] 10." ¹ If Fletcher's sardonic farce is here referred to, as Mr. Nicoll seems to think, ² the "Towne Misse" would be *Lelia*. Langbaine is silent on the stage history of *The Captain*, and Gildon assures us that "this Play has not been Acted of late years." ³

All of these revived plays of Beaumont and Fletcher are set down in "A Catalogue of part of his Ma^{tes} Servants Playes as they were formerly acted at the Black-fryers & now allowed of to his Ma^{tes} Servants at y^e New Theatre," dated by Nicoll about 1668-1669. The full list in so far as it concerns us runs: *Beggars' Bush*, *Bonduca*, *The Captaine*, *The Chances*, *The Coxcombe*, *Customs of y^e Country*, *The Double Marriage*, *The Elder Brother*, *The ffayre Mayd of y^e Inn*, *The ffaythfull Shephardesse*, *The ffalse One*, *The Humorous Leiv*, *The Island Princes*, *A King & noe King*, *The Knights of Malta*, *The ffrench Lawyer*, *The Lawes of Candye*, *Loves Progresse*, *Loues Cure*, *Loues Pilgrimage*, *The Loyall Subject*, *The Maydes Tragedie*, *The Marshall Mayd*, ⁴ *The Nice Valour*, *The Noble Gentlemen*, *Phylaster*, *The Pilgrim*, *The Prophetesse*, *The Queene of Corinth*, *Rollo Duke of Normandy*, *Rule a Wife & have a Wife*, *The Scornefull Lady*, *The Sea Voyage*,

¹ P. 308. The bill containing this item was presented by the King's Company, the £10. fee indicating production at the public playhouse. Newcastle's (perhaps, rather, Shirley's) *Country Captain*, another play in the company's repertory, and acted at court, May 18, 1667 (Nicoll, pp. 306, 316), is a remote possibility.

² P. 378.

³ *Lives and Characters*, p. 57.

⁴ Alternative title of *Love's Cure*.

The Spanish Curate, Thierry & Theodorat, Valentinian, A Wife for a Moneth, The Wy[l]d Goose-Chase, The Weomens Prize ¹ — thirty-eight plays in all.

6. FROM THE UNION OF THE COMPANIES TO BETTERTON'S OPENING AT LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS
NOVEMBER 16, 1682—APRIL 30, 1695

In 1682, theatrical conditions necessitating retrenchment, it was found expedient to form a union of the companies. More exactly, the Duke's company partly bought out and partly absorbed the King's. The united companies began acting in November, and continued without schism for a little more than twelve years.²

Our data for this new period are complicated in many ways. The entries of Pepys at one end of the half-century and the advertisements collected in Genest's great work at the other are satisfactory enough charts to sail by; the thirty-odd years between make dangerous steering, indeed. Fortunately, the warrants discovered by Mr. Nicoll cover, in somewhat desultory fashion, most of the period ahead, but they are on too limited a scale to be more than a general guide. And these years are particularly interesting ones, marked as they are by the decline in popularity of our authors' plays — perhaps already under way in the decade preceding the union — and by the more frequent use of revised versions in the case of those which still held the boards. It is curious to recall that Shakespeare was hit by the habit of alteration at an even earlier date.³

The decline did not begin at once. Indeed, just after the union of the companies many old plays were revived,

¹ Nicoll, pp. 315, 316.

² For the date of their opening, see above, p. 27. It should be noted that both the Drury Lane and Dorset Garden playhouses were used by the united patentees — the latter especially for spectacular pieces (Genest, i, 392).

³ 1678–1682. See G. B. Dutton, *Englische Studien*, xlix, 190 ff.; Nicoll, *Dryden as an Adapter of Shakespeare*, pp. 26–34.

and George Powell, the actor, even tells us that "the Time was, upon the uniting of the two *Theatres*, that the reviving of the old stock of Plays, so ingrosted the study of the House, that the Poets lay dormant; and a new Play cou'd hardly get admittance, amongst the more precious pieces of Antiquity, that then waited to walk the Stage."¹ Downes has it that "the mixt Company then [i. e. after the union] Reviv'd the several old and Modern Plays, that were the Propriety of Mr. Killigrew, as *Rule a Wife, and have a Wife*: Mr. Betterton Acting Michael Perez: Don Leon, Mr. Smith: *Cocofogo*, Mr. Cartwright: *Margaretta*, Mrs. Barry: *Estiphania*, Mrs. Cook: Next, *The Scornful Lady* . . . *The Beggars Bush* . . . Rollo. *The Humorous Lieutenant*. *The Double Marriage*. With divers others."²

But to recur to our former method. *Beggars' Bush* was presented before the new king at Whitehall probably on December 1, 1686, and certainly on February 13, 1688.³ Langbaine writes that he had seen it "several times acted with applause" — a notice altered by Gildon to "often Acted formerly with good Applause."⁴

The Bloody Brother was represented before Queen

¹ Preface to *The Treacherous Brothers* (1696), acted in 1689 (Nicoll, p. 371). Genest, who quotes it, observes that with the retirement of his rivals "Betterton would naturally be anxious to play *Othello*, and several other capital parts, which before this time he was precluded from playing" (i, 404). See Nicoll's later play-lists and his comments in the *Times Literary Supplement*, February 22, 1923. He explains the preponderance of older plays on grounds of economy. I may add that Powell's statement is substantiated by the opening verses of Prior's *Satyr on the Modern Translators* (*Poems on Affairs of State*, 1697, p. 205, there dated 1684).

² Pp. 39, 40. Purcell wrote an overture and "act-music" for the play, at about this time (*Works*, vol. xvi, pp. xxxii, 211).

³ Nicoll, *Restoration Drama*, p. 313. It is possible that *The Jovial Crew*, or *The Merry Beggars*, Brome's amiable comedy, is intended in the first instance, where the bill reads simply "*The Beggars*." An edition of this play appeared in 1686, and it was given at court, November 15, 1689 (Halliwell, *Dictionary*, p. 135; Nicoll, p. 314); but I am not aware that it was ever played during the Restoration period under its alternative title.

⁴ *Account of the English Dramatick Poets*, 1691, p. 207; *Lives and Characters*, 1698, p. 57.

Catherine on January 20, 1685, and before King James on April 28 of the same year.¹ An edition of the tragedy, licensed November 27, 1685, contains the following cast, quoted in part by Genest:² Rollo, Mr. Kynaston; Otto, Mr. Williams; Aubrey, Mr. Gillo; Gisbert, Mr. Saunders; Baldwin, Mr. Cartwright; Grandpree, Mr. Baker; Verdon, Mr. Lowe; Trevice, Mr. Percival; Duprete, Mr. Harris; Latorch, Mr. Griffin; Hamond, Mr. Perin; Allan, Mr. Baker; Norbret, Mr. Powel; La Fisk, Mr. Bowman; Rufee, Mr. Lowe; De Bube, Mr. Saunders; Pipeau, Miss Cockye, the little Girl; Cook, Mr. Underhil; Yeoman of the Seller, Mr. Harris; Butler, Mr. Lowe; Pantler, Mr. Powel; Sophia, Mrs. Corey; Matilda, Mrs. Percival; Edith, Mrs. Cooke. Another performance before royalty took place at Whitehall, January 26, 1687.³ Langbaine, four years later, found the play "much in request; and notwithstanding Mr. Rymer's Criticisms on it, has still the good fortune to Please: it being frequently acted by the present Company of Actors, at the Queen's Play-House in *Dorset-Garden*."⁴

From Mr. Nicoll's warrants we learn that the Queen was present at a representation of *The Chances*, December 30, 1682; and that the comedy was acted at Whitehall, January 27, 1686.⁵ On this second occasion it is also mentioned by Peregrine Bertie in a letter to the Countess of Rutland: "January 28. . . . Last night was acted, *The Chances* at Whitehall. . . . The French Opera will begin the weeke after the next."⁶ Colley Cibber, describing

¹ Nicoll, p. 312.

² I, 446.

³ Nicoll, p. 313.

⁴ *Account*, p. 207. Gildon admits that it had been "sometimes Acted of late Days . . . with good success" (*Lives and Characters*, p. 57). Lines "in imitation of a Song in the Play of Rollo" (the Shakespearean "Take, oh, take those lips away") appeared in the 1689 edition of Charles Cotton's *Poems*, p. 529. Their author, son of a good friend of Fletcher's, had died two years before.

⁵ Pp. 311, 312.

⁶ *Rutland MSS*, ii, 102 (*Historical Manuscripts Commission, Twelfth Report*, Appendix, v). See also Lawrence, *Anglia*, xxxii, 87.

Mrs. Charlotte Butler, has it that "in Parts of Humour too she had a manner of blending her assuasive Softness, even with the Gay, the Lively, and the Alluring. Of this she gave an agreeable Instance, in her Action of the (*Villiers*) Duke of *Buckingham's* second *Constantia* in the *Chances*. In which, if I should say, I have never seen her exceeded, I might still do no wrong to the late Mrs. *Oldfield's* lively Performance of the same Character. Mrs. *Oldfield's* Fame may spare Mrs. *Butler's* Action this Compliment, without the Least Diminution, or Dispute of her Superiority, in Characters of more moment."¹ Of Anne Oldfield we shall see much hereafter. Mrs. Butler joined Ashbury when the latter "was raising a Company of Actors" for his theatre in Dublin, opened March 23, 1692,² and she appeared no more on the London stage. Genest, accordingly, assumes that the eulogy just quoted has to do with some performance between 1690, when Cibber himself began his career, and that date.³ Of Mrs. Leigh, wife of Anthony Leigh the comedian, Cibber says she "had a very droll way of dressing the pretty Foibles of superannuated Beauties. She had, in her self, a good deal of Humour, and knew how to infuse it into the affected Mothers, Aunts, and modest stale Maids, that had miss'd their Market; of this sort were the Modish Mother in the *Chances*, affecting to be politely commode, for her own Daughter," etc.⁴ After the secession of 1695 Mrs. Leigh joined the Lincoln's Inn Fields troupe,⁵ who do not seem to have given the play. I am inclined, then, to connect her "Mother" with the same production as that in which Mrs. Butler appeared. Buckingham's version is plainly meant in both descriptions, and seems to have entirely replaced the original.

¹ *Apology*, 1740, p. 136.

² *Apology*, ed. Lowe, i, 164, and note.

³ II, 14.

⁴ *Apology*, 1740, p. 135.

⁵ Genest, ii, 382, etc.; Nicoll, p. 302, note, 330, 340, 341.



THE HUMOROUS LIEUTENANT

The Double Marriage was played at Whitehall, February 6, 1688,¹ and seems thenceforward to have slept undisturbed.

The Humorous Lieutenant, on the other hand, continued in favor. Nicoll's warrants show performances, January 2, 1685, at the public playhouse; and February 10, 1686, November 24, 1686, and February 27, 1688, at Whitehall.² Langbaine had "often seen it acted with Applause."³

On April 25, 1687, *The Island Princes[s]* was given at Whitehall. This is identified by Nicoll⁴ as Tate's woeful mutilation⁵ of the tragi-comedy. The cast given in the first edition runs: King of Tedore, Mr. Kinaston; Quisara, Mrs. Cook; Panura, Mrs. Momford; Governour, Mr. Gillo[w]; Bakam, Mr. Powel [Senior]; Syana, Mr. Harris; Ruidias, Mr. Griffin; Armusia, Mr. Smith; Sforza, Mr. Norris; Emanuel, Mr. Powel Junior; Pymero, Mr. Momford.⁶ Apparently Tate's alteration was not successful; at any rate, Motteux informs the Reader of his operatic version of the play (1699) that "tho' Mr. Fletcher's *Island Princess* was frequently Acted of old, and Revived twelve years ago, with some Alterations, the Judicious seem'd satisfy'd, that it wou'd hardly have been relish'd now on the Stage."⁷

Genest found the following cast written in a copy of the

¹ Nicoll, p. 313. See also pp. 50, note, 54, above.

² Pp. 311 ff. On the first of these occasions it is called simply *Ye Lieutenant*.

³ P. 209.

⁴ Pp. 313, 396; *The Times Literary Supplement*, March 15, 1923.

⁵ Entered in the *Term Catalogues* in June, 1687 (ii, 200), "as it is acted at the Theatre Royal." See also Langbaine, *Account*, p. 210; Downes, p. 47. The old prompter mentions it in connection with *King Arthur*, *The Prophetess*, and *The Fairy Queen* — produced between 1690 and 1692 (Nicoll, pp. 353, 360, 372).

⁶ Genest omits Norris (i, 456, 457). Harris, in the above cast, was not Pepys's friend but Joseph of that ilk, an inferior actor who flourished 1661–1699 (Knight in *Dictionary of National Biography*, ix, 17–18).

⁷ Sig. A3 v^o.

1676 edition of *A King and No King*: Arbaces, Betterton; Bessus, Leigh; Mardonius, Mohun; Tigranes, Kynaston; Bacurius, Wiltshire; Swordsman, Jevon; Panthea, Mrs. Barrer (Barry); Spaconia, Mrs. Cook. He adds that it must represent a performance soon after the Union, as Mohun acted in it.¹ It was presented before Queen Mary on October 20, 1685;² and on the 23d of January following Peregrine Bertie wrote to the Countess of Rutland: "To day will be acted *King and noe King*, by the King's command; everybody is sending to keep places."³ The play was again put on at Whitehall, December 9, 1686;⁴ and Langbaine found it "a Tragi-Comedy, which notwithstanding its Errors discover'd by Mr. Rymer in his *Criticisms*, has always been acted with Applause, and has lately been reviv'd in our present Theatre with so great success, that we may justly say with *Horace*, *Haec placuit semel, haec decies repetita placebit*."⁵

When we reach *The Maid's Tragedy*, it is to face the most interesting and baffling problem in the whole stage history of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays. I must admit, at the outset, that a good deal of search has resulted in the addition of very little to the sum of information already gathered.⁶ I can do no more than present the evidence as it stands.

Edmund Waller died in 1687. On September 26, 1689, was licensed *The Second Part of Mr. Waller's Poems containing his Alteration of the Maids Tragedy*. In the preface to this (perhaps by the printer, Thomas Bennet) we find the following statement: "The Play was alter'd, to please

¹ I, 403. Mohun died in October, 1684 (Knight in *Dictionary of National Biography*, xiii, 557).

² Nicoll, p. 312.

³ *Rutland MSS*, ii, 101, 102 (*Historical Manuscripts Commission, Twelfth Report*, Appendix, v).

⁴ Nicoll, p. 313.

⁵ P. 210.

⁶ The best account is that by Daniel (*Var. Ed.*, i, 6, 7), who makes use of Langbaine, the 1711 *Beaumont and Fletcher*, Cibber, Fenton, and (for the stage history, which he puts on its inferences) Pepys and Rymer.

the Court: 'Tis not to be doubted who sat for the two Brothers Characters. 'Twas agreeable to the sweetness of Mr. *Waller's* Temper to soften the rigour of the Tragedy, as he expresses it; but whether it be so agreeable to the Nature of Tragedy it self to make every thing come off easily, I leave to the Criticks."¹

Langbaine, a year or two later, speaks of Beaumont and Fletcher's tragedy as "a Play which has always been acted with great Applause at the King's Theatre; and which had still continu'd on the English Stage, had not King *Charles* the Second, for some particular Reasons forbid its further Appearance during his Reign. It has since been reviv'd by Mr. *Waller*, the last act having been wholly alter'd." And he proceeds to quote the 1689 preface.²

In the *Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, printed in 1711, we have a further notice which adds several particulars: "*The Maids Tragedy* was very frequently Acted after the Restoration, and with the greatest Applause. . . . But the latter ending of that Play, where the King was kill'd, making it upon some particular occasion not thought proper to be farther represented, it was by private Order of the Court silenc'd. This was the Reason Mr. *Waller* undertook the altering the latter part of that Play."³

Giles Jacobs in his *Poetical Register* (1719) follows in general the accounts of Langbaine and Gildon, but concludes his remarks as follows: "It was reviv'd by Mr. *Waller*, who entirely altering the last Act, it was brought on the Stage again with universal Approbation."⁴ I question whether this addition means anything.

¹ Sig. 2 v^o. 3.

² *Account*, p. 212. Gildon recast this throughout, his notice of the play concluding thus: "Somewhat in it displeasing King *Charles* the Second, it was for some time forbid coming on the Stage, till Mr. *Waller* Reviving it, and wholly altering the last Act (which is Printed in his Poems) appeared again publicly." (*Lives and Characters*, p. 59.) In view of Gildon's practice elsewhere, I do not believe the variations in phrase are to be taken seriously.

³ P. viii.

⁴ P. 106.

Colley Cibber is the last authority for the inhibition. Speaking of the "silencing" of plays, he says:

The first Instance of this kind, that common Fame has deliver'd down to us, is that of the *Maid's Tragedy* of *Beaumont* and *Fletcher*, which was forbid in King *Charles* the *Second's* time, by an Order from the Lord Chamberlain. For what Reason this Interdiction was laid upon it, the Polticks of those Days, have only left us to guess. Some said, that the killing of the King, in that Play, while the tragical Death of King *Charles* the *First*, was then so fresh in People's Memory, was an Object too horribly impious, for a publick Entertainment. What makes this Conjecture seem to have some Foundation, is that the celebrated *Waller*, in Compliment to that Court, alter'd the last Act of this Play . . . and gave it a new Catastrophe, wherein the Life of the King is loyally saved, and the Lady's Matter made up, with a less terrible Reparation. Others have given out, that a repenting Mistress, in a romantick Revenge of her Dishonour, killing the King, in the very Bed he expected her to come into, was shewing a too dangerous Example to other *Evadnes*, then shining at Court, in the same Rank of royal Distinction; who, if ever their Consciences should have run equally mad, might have had frequent Opportunities of putting the Expiration of their Frailty, into the like Execution. But this I doubt is too deep a Speculation, or too ludicrous a Reason, to be relied on; it being well known, that the Ladies then in favour, were not so nice, in their Notions, as to think their Preferment their Dishonour, or their Lover a Tyrant: Besides, that easy Monarch loved his Roses, without Thorns; nor do we hear, that he much chose, to be himself the first Gatherer of them.¹

A strongly worded statement on the other side is the following passage from *Elijah Fenton's Observations* affixed to the 1730 edition of *Waller's Works*: "I have nothing to add to what has already been said of these alterations, in the Preface to the second Part of Mr. *Waller's*

¹ *Apology*, 1740, pp. 282; 283.

Poems . . . but, shall only observe, that *Langbaine* mistook in affirming that King *Charles II.* would not suffer the Play to appear on the Stage: for, I have been assur'd by my friend Mr. *Southerne*, that in the latter end of that reign he has seen it acted at the Theatre Royal, as it was originally written by *Fletcher*; but, never with Mr. *Waller's* alterations."¹

Waller's versions of the last act suggest, as we shall see, inspired work. His prologue and epilogue, on the contrary, certainly sound as if the old play were under no interdiction. The prologue contains these lines:

So having here the different Stiles in view,
You may compare the former with the new.
If we less rudely shall the Knot unty,
Soften the rigour of the Tragedy:
Then to the Other, This you may prefer.
'Tis left to you: the Boxes and the Pit,
Are sovereign Judges of this sort of Wit.
In other things the knowing Artist may
Judge better than the people: but a Play,
Made for delight and for no other use,
If you approve it not, has no excuse.

But if, as we have been told, the order forbidding the original was a secret one, this may have been no more than camouflage.

The stage history of the tragedy makes it unlikely that such an inhibition existed. Between 1660 and 1668 *The Maid's Tragedy* was frequently performed, and Pepys's remark that the ending was "too sad and melancholy,"² with his failure to note any innovation thereafter, seems to show that the original is meant. The records are far less full between 1668 and the end of the merry monarch's reign. Yet we have the indirect but conclusive testimony of Rymer in 1677,³ and the Fenton-Sotherne statement

¹ P. clviii.

² P. 18, above.

³ P. 39, above. Rymer, I should add, classes *The Maid's Tragedy* with *Rollo*, *A King and No King*, *Othello*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *Catiline* as among

(just cited) that the play as Beaumont and Fletcher wrote it still held the boards.¹

It is worth remembering that Waller had already been employed on somewhat similar service. In the *Calendars of State Papers* is summarized a letter to Thomas Killigrew, dated March 22, 1662-1663, "signifying the King's pleasure that the play called *The Cheates*² be no more represented till it has been reviewed by Sir John Denham and Mr. Waller." And a second letter, addressed to Waller, is to the effect that "the King being informed that a new comedy lately acted contains things scandalous and offensive, refers it to him and Sir John Denham for their opinion."³ It is, of course, a considerable step from the office of censor to that of reviser, but the letters certainly add to the probability that Waller's version of the tragedy was inspired.

As for the inhibition, Mr. Daniel is perhaps right in doubting whether there ever was any.⁴ But the whole affair remains far from clear. It may be that some zealous official of the Clarendon type, finding the old play dangerous fare for the subjects of a libertine and increasingly absolute king, urged Waller to revise it, in the hope that an alteration from his revered hand would displace the offensive original. This may even have been temporarily silenced by a secret order, to reappear again when the matter blew over, or possibly when Old Rowley himself heard of it.⁵

"the choicest and most applauded *English Tragedies* of this last age . . . renown'd every-where, and . . . edifying to the *Stage*." (*Tragedies of the Last Age*, p. 1.)

¹ Cf. also the allusion to "Amintor's bleeding" in the 1683 *Elegy*, p. 38, above.

² A comedy by John Wilson, printed 1664.

³ The letters, from *Entry Book* 10, p. 54, are summarized in the *Calendar* of 1663-1664, p. 83. For a full account of the episode with transcripts of the letters cited, see Boas, *Shakespeare and the Universities*, 1923, pp. 239 ff. No application is made to the matter under discussion.

⁴ *Var. Ed.*, i, 7.

⁵ For the last suggestion, compare Daniel, *ibid.* The date is again uncertain; but it seems, on the whole, likely that Waller's *rifacimento* came after

We now emerge from controversy and conjecture. Waller's prologue alludes to the general reputation of *The Maid's Tragedy*:

Of all our elder Plays
This and *Philaster* have the lowest fame.¹

In February, 1687, a new edition of *The Maid's Tragedy* was entered in the *Term Catalogues* "as it hath been acted at the Theatre Royal by their Majesties Servants."² But Nicoll's bills mention a representation before royalty on April 6 of that year.³

Finally, there is a pleasant story told by Chetwood how young Robert Wilks once played Lycippus: "His first Appearance on the *English Stage*, was in the Part of the young Prince in the *Maid's Tragedy*, a very insignificant Character, requiring little more than an amiable Figure. Mr. *Betterton* performed *Melantius*; but when that veteran Actor came to address him on the Battlements, to excuse himself for the Death of the King in the Play,⁴ Mr. *Wilks* affirmed to me, that the Dignity of Mr. *Betterton* struck him with such an Awe, that he had much to do, to utter the little he had to say. Mr. *Betterton* observing his Confusion, said to him, *Young Man, this Fear does not ill become you; a Horse that sets out at the Strength of his Speed will soon be jaded.*"⁵ Joseph Knight dates the engagement of Wilks somewhere before 1695,⁶ after which date he had no further opportunity of acting with Betterton for many years.

Langbaine assures us that *Philaster* had "always been acted with Success" and that it was "the diversion of the

the critique of the play by Rymer (pp. 39, 61, note, 183, and note, 184, and note, of the present work).

¹ *Second Part of Mr. Waller's Poems*, p. 1.

² I, 190.

³ P. 313.

⁴ V, 3.

⁵ *A General History of the Stage*, 1749, p. 234.

⁶ *Dictionary of National Biography*, xxi, 280. See also Genest, ii, 145; iii, 339.

Stage, even in these days.”¹ Gildon grudgingly admits that it had “sometimes” been acted “of late Years.”² An alteration under the title of *The Restauration, or Right will Take Place*, ascribed to the Duke of Buckingham, was probably written in 1683, though it was not published until 1714. There is no reason to believe that it was ever acted.³

Rule a Wife and Have a Wife was played at Whitehall, November 4, 1685.⁴ It may be supposed that the cast was that given from *Roscius Anglicanus* at the beginning of this chapter.⁵ Langbaine speaks of the comedy as “acted, with applause . . . within these few Years . . . at the Queen’s Theatre in *Dorset-Garden*.”⁶ To a performance between 1690⁷ and 1695 is probably to be assigned the appearance of Edward Kynaston as Leon. Cibber says that he “had something of a formal Gravity in his Mien, which was attributed to the stately Step he had been so early confin’d to, in a female Decency. But even that, in *Characters of Superiority* had its proper Graces; it misbecame him not in the Part of *Leon* in *Fletcher’s Rule a Wife, &c.* which he executed with a determin’d Manliness, and honest Authority, well worth the best Actor’s Imitation.”⁸ At the secession of 1695 Kynaston accompanied Betterton, and he played the Copper Captain at Lincoln’s Inn Fields in 1696 or 1697.⁹ Cibber, who remained at Drury Lane, may perfectly well

¹ *Account*, p. 213. See also p. 63, above.

² *Lives and Characters*, p. 60.

³ What facts I have been able to collect concerning *The Restauration* will be found on pp. 187 ff., below.

⁴ Nicoll, p. 312.

⁵ P. 54, above.

⁶ P. 214. A song (“There’s not a Swain”) with music by Henry Purcell appeared in the *Gentleman’s Journal* for April, 1694, p. 101, and again in *Joyful Cuckoldom* (c. 1695), where it is described as “in the Play call’d *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife* . . . Sung by Mrs. Hudson” (*The Works of Henry Purcell*, vol. xxi, pp. xii, 85). I have found the song also, with the same heading as that quoted from *Joyful Cuckoldom*, in D’Urfey’s *Pills*, 1707, iv, 247.

⁷ Cf. p. 56, above.

⁸ *Apology*, p. 101.

⁹ See pp. 76 ff., below.

have taken a night off and seen him do Leon at the new house; but I am inclined to believe that the first supposition is the easier of the two.¹

Langbaine speaks of *The Scornful Lady* as "acted with good Applause even in these times, at the Theatre in Dorset-Garden."² We know from the warrants found by Nicoll that it had been given before royalty, February 23, 1684, at the public playhouse, and February 3, 1686, at Whitehall.³ On November 1 of that year it was represented at the Inner Temple, Jeffreys of Bloody Assizes fame being among the spectators.⁴ An edition of the comedy, "as it is now acted at the Theatre Royal," was entered in the *Term Catalogues* in May, 1692.⁵ Finally, Cibber connects Mrs. Mountfort — who had been Mrs. Percival and was to be Mrs. Verbruggen — with the same comedy:⁶ "She was so fond of Humour, in what low Part soever to be found, that she would make no scruple of defacing her fair Form, to come heartily into it; for when she was eminent in several desirable Characters of Wit, and Humour, in higher Life, she would be, in as much Fancy, when descending into the antiquated *Abigail*, of *Fletcher*, as when triumphing in all the *Airs*, and vain Graces of a fine Lady; a Merit, that few Actresses care for." She continued at Drury Lane until her death in 1703,⁷ but, since there is no record of Rich as giving

¹ Kynaston retired about 1699 (Genest, ii, 174; Knight, *Dictionary of National Biography*, xi, 355).

² *Account*, p. 214. Gildon actually adds the word "often"! (*Lives and Characters*, p. 60.)

³ Pp. 311, 312. For the year of the earlier performance, see below, p. 72, note.

⁴ *Calendar of the Inner Temple Records*, pp. lv, 237, 239. The disbursement was to "Davenant for the use of himself and the rest of the players."

⁵ II, 405.

⁶ *Apology*, 1740, pp. 137, 138.

⁷ Lowe, *Cibber's Apology*, i, 169, note. See also Genest, ii, 64, 277-280; Nicoll, pp. 301, 332, 340, 345; Lowe, *Betterton*, p. 147. I find no evidence that she ever appeared at Lincoln's Inn Fields (cf. Knight, *Dictionary of National Biography*, xx, 215 ff.).

The Scornful Lady, it may be supposed that Cibber saw her Abigail between 1690 and 1695.¹

An adaptation of *The Sea Voyage* was licensed September 11, 1685. Genest observed that in "the Prologue . . . spoken by Haines with a Western Scythe in his hand" is an allusion to "the Western war as ended — the Duke of Monmouth . . . was taken prisoner on the 8th of July."² The cast for this piece, called *A Commonwealth of Women*, runs: Capt. Marine, Mr. Williams; Du Pier, Mr. Griffin; Boldsprite, Mr. Percival; Franvil, Mr. Jevon; Frugal, Mr. Leigh; Hazard, Mr. Hains; Surgeon, Mr. Sanders; Sebastian, Mr. Gillow; Nicusa, Mr. Bowman; La Mure, Mr. Norris; Boucher, Mr. Harris; Boatswain, Mr. Low; Chaplain, Mr. Farr; Roselia, Mrs. Cory; Clarinda, Lady Slingsby; Aminta, Mrs. Cook; Menalippe, Mrs. Twiford; Julietta, Mrs. Percival; Hippolita, Mrs. Price; Ariadne, Mrs. Osborn; Aglaura, Mrs. Knight; Clita, Miss Nanny.³ Genest adds that "the original name was afterwards restored";⁴ and Downes speaks of *The Sea Voyage* as if it had been performed a few years later.⁵

There is little to say concerning the last two plays which still held the boards from the preceding period. *The Spanish Curate* was represented at Whitehall on April 11, 1687,⁶ and is said by Langbaine to have been "frequently reviv'd with general Applause."⁷ Downes speaks of *Wit without Money*⁸ as if it had been given about 1690-1692.

By the united companies only four Beaumont and

¹ Cf. p. 56, above.

² I, 446. It was entered in the *Term Catalogues*, in November "as it is acted at the Theatre Royal," and again, December 13, 1686, with "was acted" substituted for "is" (ii, 147, 179).

³ Genest omits Messrs. Low and Farr.

⁴ See below, pp. 110, 111.

⁵ P. 43.

⁶ Nicoll, p. 313.

⁷ *Account*, p. 214; a note omitted by Gildon (*Lives and Characters*, p. 60).

⁸ P. 43.

Fletcher plays — *The Knight of Malta*, *The Noble Gentleman*, *The Prophetess*, and *Valentinian* — seem to have had their first Restoration productions; and at least three of these were given in altered forms.

All I have been able to learn of *The Knight of Malta* is that a catch by Henry Purcell ("At the close of the evening"), which first appeared in "Book III of *Vinculum Societatis* (1691)," was described "in the fourth edition of the Second Book of Playford's *Pleasant Musical Companion* (1701)" as "in the Play of the *Knight of Malta*."¹ Dr. Gray and Mr. W. Barclay Squire agree in thinking that "the catch was introduced at some revival of the play in the opening Scene of Act III, in the place of the original 'Song by the Watch.'"² Mr. Squire notes that it is not given in the second edition of Playford's *Companion*, 1686, and is inclined to place the revival between that date and 1691.³

In the *Miscellaneous Works of His Grace George, late Duke of Buckingham* (1705-1707), is a curious "Letter from Sir George Etherege, to his Grace the Duke of Buckingham," superscribed "Ratisbone, October 2, 1689." This reads in part: "By my last Pacquet from *England* among a heap of nauseous Trash, I received the *Three Dukes of Dunstable*, which is really so monstrous and insipid that I am sorry *Lapland* or *Livonia* had not the Honour of producing it; but if I did Penance in reading it, I rejoiced to hear that it was so solemnly interr'd to the Tune of Cat-calls. The '*Squire of Alsatia* however,

¹ *The Works of Henry Purcell*, vol. xx, pp. x, 44.

² The words of Purcell's catch are:

At the close of the ev'ning the watches were set,
The guards went the round and the Ta too was beat.
But now yonder stars appear in the sky,
And Ta-ra-ra-ra is sounded on high.
We shall soon be relieved, then drink, drink away,
Here's to you, and to you, let us drink till 'tis day.

³ *Purcell's Dramatic Music*, *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik Gesellschaft*, 1903-1904, v, 533.

which came by the following Post, made me some amends for the cursed impertinence of the *Three Dukes*.”¹ Now *The Three Dukes of Dunstable* is an alternative title for *A Fool's Preferment* (D'Urfey's adaptation of *The Noble Gentleman*) which had been licensed May 31, 1688. Shadwell's *Squire of Alsatia* had been listed in the *Term Catalogues* in the same month.² It would seem, then, that Etherege's correspondents were giving him pretty stale news. Add that the author of *Sir Fopling Flutter* had probably left Ratisbon early in March, 1689,³ and that Buckingham had died on April 16, 1687⁴ — and the title and superscription assume a highly dubious character. The letter itself may yet be genuine, and I suggest that it bears some connection with the following request of Etherege's: “Though I have given up writing plays, I should be glad to read a good one, wherefore pray let Will Richards send me Mr. Shadwell's as soon as it is printed, that I may know what follies are in fashion.” Unfortunately, Mr. Verity — from whose edition of Sir George's *Works* I quote this passage — does not date the letter that contains it; but he identifies Mr. Shadwell's play as *The Squire of Alsatia*.⁵ In any case, there can be no question that D'Urfey's piece was damned: Tom admits as much himself when he blames his moral purpose (more of which hereafter)⁶ for costing him “the price of a Third Day.”⁷ In a satirical pamphlet published three years later (1691), there is one more allusion to the farce. Johnson, one of the characters, suggests to Smith: “Lets to the Coffee-House then, we may meet with a third man,

¹ I, 131, 139. It appears in the 1715 edition without variation (i, 192–200) and in the *Biographia Dramatica* (ii, 244).

² II, 223.

³ Vincenz Mendl, *Sir George Etherege, sein Leben, seine Zeit und seine Dramen*, *Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie*, xiv, 99.

⁴ A point made by Forsythe, *Study of the Plays of Thomas D'Urfey*, ii, 5.

⁵ Vol. i, p. xxvi, and note.

⁶ See p. 240, below.

⁷ *Epistle Dedicatory*.

or hear the News"; and Smith replies: "No, I had rather sit out a whole long dull Tragedy, or a second part of the Three Dukes of *Dunstable*." ¹ The cast was: Cocklebrain, Mr. Nokes; Justice Grub, Mr. Leigh; Lyonel, Mr. Mo[u]ntford; Clermont, Mr. Kinaston; Longovil[l]e, Mr. Powel[l]; Bewford, Mr. Bowman; Toby, Mr. Jevon; Usher of the Black Rod, Mr. Powel[l] Sen[ior]; Aurelia, Mrs. Bowtel; Celia, Mrs. Jordain.²

Langbaine speaks of *The Prophetess* as "a Tragical History, which has lately been reviv'd by Mr. Dryden, under the Title of *The Prophetess*, or *The History of Dioclesian*, with Alterations and Additions after the manner of an *Opera*, represented at the Queens Theatre, and printed 4° Lond. 1690." ³ He is called to account by Gildon: "I know not what reason Mr. *Langbain* has to attribute the revival to Mr. *Dryden*, when 'twas Mr. *Betterton's*." ⁴ Gildon is supported by Downes, who calls the piece "an Opera, wrote by Mr. *Betterton*; being set out with Coastly Scenes, Machines and Cloaths: The Vocal and Instrumental Musick, done by Mr. *Purcell*; and Dances by Mr. *Priest*; it gratify'd the Expectation of Court and City; and got the Author great Reputation." ⁵ Langbaine's ascription is perhaps explained by the fact that Dryden had written a prologue ⁶ for the opera. Cibber tells us that "a Prologue (by *Dryden*) to the *Prophetess* was forbid by the Lord *Dorset* ⁷ after the first Day of its being spoken. This happen'd when King

¹ *Wit for Money: or, Poet Stutter, a Dialogue . . . containing Reflections on some late Plays*, etc., p. 2.

² From the printed play. Genest omits the elder Powell (i, 463). For the songs with which the adaptation was embellished, see *The Works of Henry Purcell*, vol. xx, pp. iv, 11 ff.

³ *Account*, p. 214.

⁴ *Lives and Characters*, p. 60.

⁵ P. 42.

⁶ Printed in *Works*, ed. Scott-Saintsbury, x, 407 ff. The question of authorship is discussed by Saintsbury, who feels some doubt as to the interspersed lyrics (viii, 10, note).

⁷ The Lord Chamberlain.

William was prosecuting the War, in *Ireland*. It must be confess'd, that this Prologue had some familiar, metaphorical Sneers, at the Revolution itself; and as the Poetry of it was good, the Offense of it was less pardonable."¹ As William landed in Ireland on June 14,² and Mr. W. Barclay Squire has found an advertisement of the printed *Prophetess* in the *London Gazette* of June 12-16,³ it is not quite certain that Dryden's biting couplets were spoken at the première. The dedication of his *Amphitryon*, dated October 25, 1690, reads in part: "What has been wanting on my part has been abundantly supplied by the excellent composition of Mr. Purcell; in whose person we have at length found an Englishman equal with the best abroad. At least, my opinion of him has been such, since his happy and judicious performances in the late opera, and the experience I have had of him, in the setting my three songs for this *Amphitryon*."⁴ If by "the late opera" was meant *The Prophetess*, as there is every reason to suppose,⁵ Mr. Squire is right in interpreting the passage as one more indication that the alteration must not be fathered on Dryden.⁶ It is not possible to give a full cast. Perhaps Betterton did Dioclesian; Gildon's *Life* names the piece as one in which he appeared.⁷ Cibber speaks of Penkethman's success in imitating the Geta of Anthony Leigh.⁸ As Colley joined the company

¹ *Apology*, p. 283. The piece in question was certainly bold enough to call forth the shears of the censor.

² *Dictionary of National Biography*, xxi, 313, 314.

³ *Purcell's Dramatic Music*, p. 514. The notice begins: "The Prophetess: Or, The History of Dioclesian; with Alterations and Additions, after the manner of an Opera; Represented at the Queen's Theatre by Their Majesties Servants."

⁴ Scott-Saintsbury, viii, 9, 10. Purcell's music for *The Prophetess* is praised also in *The Gentleman's Journal* of January, 1692.

⁵ Scott-Saintsbury, p. 9, note.

⁶ *Purcell's Dramatic Music*, p. 496.

⁷ *The Life of Mr. Thomas Betterton, the late Eminent Tragedian*, p. 175.

⁸ *Apology*, p. 125.

in 1690, and Leigh died in 1692,¹ the latter's name should probably be added to Betterton's. Circumstances also point to the appearance of Mrs. Charlotte Butler, of whom Cibber says that she "prov'd not only a good Actress, but was allow'd, in those Days, to sing and dance to great Perfection. In the Dramatick Operas of *Dioclesian*, and that of *King Arthur*, she was a capital, and admired Performer."² In *Thesaurus Musicus*, 1694, "a new Song in the *Prophetess*" is described as "Sung in the Third Act. By Mrs. Ayliff." Mr. Squire points out that the names of two more singers, Mrs. Hudson and Mr. Freeman, are connected with the opera in *Joyful Cuckoldom*.³ And Dr. Alan Gray, finally, had seen a manuscript statement that one of the *Prophetess* songs was sung by Mrs. Dyer, probably, he says, at a revival before 1693.⁴ *The Prophetess* was certainly given on November 17, 1690, when "Ye Q." and "Ye Maid's Honor" had boxes.⁵ Cibber must again be quoted in conclusion: "Though the Success of the *Prophetess*, and *King Arthur* (two dramatic Operas, in which the Patentees had embark'd all their Hopes) was, in Appearance, very great, yet their whole Receipts did not so far balance their Expence, as to keep them out of a large Debt, which it was publickly known was, about this time, contracted, and which found Work for the Court of Chancery for about twenty Years following."⁶

Downes says that at the production of Rochester's *Valentinian*,⁷ "Mr. Goodman Acted *Valentinian*: Mr.

¹ *Cibber's Apology*, ed. Lowe, ii, 348; Genest, ii, 35. Genest notes that "Leigh acted Geta" (i, 487), but makes no further attempt to reconstruct the cast.

² *Apology*, p. 135. Mrs. Butler left England early in 1682.

³ *Purcell's Dramatic Music*, p. 515.

⁴ *Works of Henry Purcell*, ix, 3, note.

⁵ Nicoll, p. 314. In his Hand-List the première is given as November, 1690, but this is too late.

⁶ *Apology*, p. 152.

⁷ His notice seems to indicate that a time after the union is meant (*Roscus Anglicanus*, pp. 39, 40).

Betterton, Aecius: Mr. Kynaston, Maximus: Mr. Griffin, Pontius: Madam Barry, Lucina, &c. The well performance, and the vast interest the Author made in Town, Crown'd the Play, with great Gain of Reputation; and Profit to the *Actors*." ¹ The alteration was entered in the *Term Catalogues* — "as it is . . . Acted at the Theatre Royal" — in November, 1684.² Genest noticed that the first ³ of the three prologues contains an allusion to Blanket Fair, "which was holden on the Thames in the great frost that lasted from the beginning of December to the 15th of February, 1683 o.s."; ⁴ and Nicoll has discovered notices of the play's being acted as early as February 11, 1684. On February 6, the actors of the Theatre Royal were thus addressed: "These are to require you to Act the play called the Tragedy of Valentinian at Court before his Ma^e upon Munday night next being the Eleaventh of this moneth." Three days later, the Duke of Ormond, as Lord Steward, was required to "give order for Candles, & all other usuall Allowances of Bread, Beere, Wine and Coales to bee deliuered unto John Clarke Keeper of the Theatre in Whitehall for the use of his Ma^{es} Comoedians who are to act a Play at Court on Munday night next being the Eleaventh of ffebruary instant And that you give order for Coales for ayreing the Play house the day before." Also, the King was dunned for *Valentinian*, February 11 — the year being probably the same.⁵

¹ P. 40. As Rochester died in July, 1680, Genest (i, 409) and Joseph Knight (*Roscus Anglicanus*, p. xxix) accuse the old prompter of one of his not infrequent lapses of memory. But see below, p. 73. Mrs. Cook spoke the prologue "the first Day," but may not have acted in the play.

² II, 99.

³ See below, p. 166. It also alludes to the Earl's death.

⁴ I, 410.

⁵ Nicoll, pp. 311, 318. Nicoll discusses the date in *The Times Literary Supplement*, February 22, 1923, but without connecting the first two notices with this. Curiously, the fee charged the King was that (£10) regularly exacted for a representation at the public theatre (see *History of Restoration Drama*, pp. 311, 312; *The Times Literary Supplement*, September 14, 1922). Query: did the Lord Steward fail to deliver the candles, coals, etc.?

That this performance may not have been the first is shown by Professor R. G. Martin. "In the British Museum," he informs us, "is a MS. (Ad. 28,692) version of Rochester's play, entitled *Lucina's Rape, or the Tragedy of Vallentinian*. It is prefaced by a list of actors as follows: Valentinian, Hart; Aecius, Moon (Mohun); Maximus, Winter ell (*sic* — Wintershall, or Wintersel); Pontius, Liddle (Lyddoll); Chylas, Cartwright; Lycias, Clarke; Lucina, Mrs. Marshall; Claudia, Mrs. Cox; Marcellina, Mrs. Boutall (Boutel); Ardelia, Mrs. Core (Corey); Phorba, Mrs. Knept — (Knipp, Pepys's friend). If this is the cast of an actual performance, it must have taken place before July 1679, when Wintershall died. This MS. version differs somewhat in arrangement and phraseology from the quarto, and perhaps represents the original alteration (as a note, evidently by a former owner of the MS., suggests)."¹ Mr. Allardyce Nicoll, whose conclusions with regard to the nature of the manuscript will be found summarized in another place,² is inclined to take the cast as that of an actual première, the performance recorded by Downes dwindling, if we accept his view, to a mere revival. He would read "Mrs. Corbet" where Professor Martin, whose account he does not mention, had read "Mrs. Corey." Marcellina was probably an old part such as the latter was now accustomed to play.³

The subsequent history of the play during this period may be dismissed in a few words. In Nahum Tate's *Poems by Several Hands* (1685), appeared "*A Mask, Made at the Request of the late Earl of Rochester, for the Trag-*

¹ *Var. Ed.*, iv, 211; cf. Genest, i, 259. It is worth noting, perhaps, that the Second Folio, on which the printed *Valentinian* was founded (p. 175, note, below), had already been listed in the *Term Catalogues*, February 18, 1679 (i, 344).

² Pp. 176 ff., below. His study of the manuscript appeared in *The Times Literary Supplement*, January 13, 1921.

³ Cf. Rochester's *Valentinian*, iii, 3, p. 30.

edy of *Valentinian*.”¹ This may be by Sir Francis Fane.² The play had a representation at Whitehall, May 16, 1687,³ and is spoken of by Gildon as “acted at the Theatre Royal with great Applause.”⁴

To look back for a moment: of the thirty-three Beaumont and Fletcher plays produced since the reopening of the theatres, the United Patentees, according to the data at hand, gave only fourteen. These were: *Beggars' Bush*, *The Bloody Brother*, *The Chances*, *The Double Marriage*, *The Humorous Lieutenant*, *The Island Princess*, *A King and No King*, *The Maid's Tragedy*, *Philaster*, *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, *The Scornful Lady*, *The Sea Voyage*, *The Spanish Curate*, and *Wit without Money*. To these were added four plays, not given before since the Restoration: *The Knight of Malta*, *The Noble Gentleman*, *The Prophetess*, and *Valentinian*. Nineteen have disappeared,⁵ including such once popular pieces as *The Elder Brother*,⁶ *The Mad Lover*, *The Maid in the Mill*, and *The Woman's Prize*. Finally, of the surviving eighteen at least six — *The Chances*, *Island Princess*, *Noble Gentleman*, *Prophetess*, *Sea Voyage*, and *Valentinian* — appeared on the stage only in altered versions.⁷

¹ Pp. 17–32. ² See below, pp. 174, 175. ³ Nicoll, *Restoration Drama*, p. 313.

⁴ *Lives and Characters*, p. 60. Langbaine (*Account*, p. 216) has no word of its success. In the *Athenian Mercury*, vol. v, no. 2, December 5, 1691, is a compact bit of encomium.

⁵ *The Captain*, *The Coxcomb*, *Cupid's Revenge*, *The Custom of the Country*, *The Elder Brother*, *The Faithful Shepherdess*, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, *The Little French Lawyer*, *The Loyal Subject*, *The Mad Lover*, *The Maid in the Mill*, *Monsieur Thomas*, *The Night Walker*, *The Pilgrim*, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, *A Wife for a Month*, *The Wild-Goose Chase*, *The Woman's Prize*, and *Women Pleased*. Two of these, however, *The Loyal Subject* and *A Wife for a Month*, are not recorded in the period (1663–1682) immediately preceding the union.

⁶ Langbaine speaks of this comedy as one “which has been acted with good applause” (p. 208). But this is certainly not sufficient evidence to warrant the assumption that it was given after the union. Gildon changes the statement, characteristically, to “oftentimes Acted formerly, and met with indifferent Success” (*Lives and Characters*, p. 58).

⁷ *Philaster* certainly, and perhaps *The Maid's Tragedy*, had also been subjected to revision during these years, though the originals still held the boards.

7. FROM BETTERTON'S OPENING AT LINCOLN'S INN
FIELDS TO THE REINFORCEMENT OF THE HAY-
MARKET COMPANY UNDER SWINEY,
APRIL 30, 1695—OCTOBER 15, 1706

In December, 1694, a group of the better actors petitioned the Lord Chamberlain for redress of their grievances, and some four months later we find them successfully established at a new theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Here they continued to play, in competition with a younger and steadily improving troupe at their former abode, until April 9, 1705, when they opened a "magnificent new Theatre in the Haymarket." For one season more the struggle continued, but in the autumn of 1706 came a realignment of forces by which the Betterton group were joined by many of the best actors from Drury Lane — that playhouse, and of course the pendant Dorset Garden, being turned over to operatic debaucheries. This partial union (by which the names of Betterton and Wilks, of Mrs. Barry and Mrs. Oldfield, came to be listed in the same casts) had a perceptible effect on the repertory of the company; and, despite the convenience of treating as a whole the last fifteen years of the period, I have deemed it inexpedient to do so. Moreover, by making a separate paragraph of the last four seasons, we are enabled to compare these with the even more chaotic seasons of 1660–1663 at the beginning of our chronicle.

One might expect that the older players grouped about the venerable Betterton would have had recourse to those old stock plays of the early years of the Restoration to a far greater degree than the rival company. But, so far as Beaumont and Fletcher are concerned, this was not the case.¹ During the ten years only eight of their plays are

¹ The basis of our study of these years is the Latreille MS. (B. M. Add. MSS, 32,274), with, of course, Genest, whose account from 1702 on is enriched by Dr. Burney's collection of newspaper advertisements, etc. Genest notes that these are fuller for Drury Lane than for the other house (ii, 254, 256, 303, 326).

recorded at Lincoln's Inn Fields and the Haymarket: *The Bloody Brother*, *The Humorous Lieutenant*, *A King and no King*, *The Loyal Subject* (in an execrable alteration), *The Maid in the Mill*, *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, *The Scornful Lady*, and *Valentinian*.

Of these, *The Bloody Brother* and *A King and No King* had seemingly but a single hearing: the former, "*Rollo Duke of Normandy . . . The last revived Tragedy*," on November 13, 1705; the latter, given "with the Masque of *Acis and Galatea*" for Betterton's benefit, on March 28, 1706.¹ *The Maid in the Mill* was represented, April 28, 1704, "with several . . . Scotch songs and dances in and between the acts," the performance being advertised to "begin exactly at Six o'clock by reason of the length of the entertainments";² and again on July 27, "being made into a farce in 3 Acts."³

Much more popular was *The Humorous Lieutenant*. This was performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields, March 13, and April 1, 1704; and at the Haymarket, April 26, 1705, with Bowen as the Lieutenant, February 2, 1706, and, for Bowen's benefit, May 15, 1706, "with all the Comical songs & dialogues that were performed in the last new Opera," D'Urfey's *Wonders in the Sun*. This last representation was "for the entertainment of His Excellency Hamet Ben Hamet Cardenas," the Moroccan ambassador.⁴

An edition of *Rule a Wife*, "as it is Acted at the New Theatre in Little Lincolns Inn-fields," appeared in 1697. It contains the following cast: Duke, Scidmore; Don Juan de Castro, Thurmond; Perez, Kynaston; Cacofogo,

¹ Latreille MS.; cf. Genest, ii, 344, 350. The prices for the benefit night were: "Boxes 5s. Pit 3s. 1st Gall^y 2s."

² Latreille MS.

³ *Ibid.*; Genest, ii, 310.

⁴ Latreille MS.; cf. Genest, ii, 308, 330, 351. "It was the particular sagacity of . . . Mr. Bowen," we learn from *The Anti-Theatre*, "when he had a benefit, to get it for the entertainment of some Morocco Ambassador, with half a dozen hard names" (*The Theatre, The Anti-Theatre*, etc., ed. John Nichols, i, 312).

Underhill; Sanchio, Freeman; Alonso, Husbands; Donna Margarita, Mrs. Barry; Estisania, Mrs. Boutell; Clara, Mrs. Prince; First Lady, Mrs. Lee; Second Lady, Mrs. Perune; Altea, Mrs. Lawson.¹ Genest, who prints it only in part, thinks that Betterton probably acted Leon, adding: "The cast seems to belong not to 1697, but some former year."² As far as Kynaston, Mrs. Barry, Underhill, and the minor actors³ are concerned, I see no reason to set the date back. The case of Mrs. Boutel is sufficiently curious. Genest found that her name does not often appear after the Union;⁴ and, though a Mrs. Boutel turns up once or twice subsequently, she is not mentioned in his records between 1678 and 1688. It is surprising, then, to find her taking "young parts" after having "been on the stage above thirty years."⁵ A letter of Lord Granville's to Sir William Leveson, dated May 5, 1688, makes it improbable, however, that some younger actress of the same name is intended. This reads in part: "Mrs. Cook is dead and Mrs. Boute is again come upon the stage, where she appears with great applause."⁶ Unless a Restoration actress by the name of Boute can be traced, I am inclined to believe that Mrs. Boutel is meant, and that the loss of the final letter is due to an error in deciphering or transcription. In that case, it would not be wholly unreasonable to suppose that she might have held on until 1697. When the play was announced for the Haymarket, June 8, 1705, it is spoken of

¹ The Boston Public Library copy was "Printed for Sam Briscoe . . . and sold by Richard Wellington"; in the *May Term Catalogues* it was "for R. Wellington" (iii, 15). See below, p. 97, note.

² I, 122, 123.

³ "Mr. Husbands" is set down for a small part in *The Double Distress* of Mrs. Pix, produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1701. For the rest, see Genest, ii, 84-93, 114-122, 149-155.

⁴ II, 95.

⁵ She was the Estisania of a performance about 1663 (p. 41, above).

⁶ As summarized in the *Fifth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Part i, p. 198. Genest, i, 457, lists Mrs. Boutel in *The Squire of Alsatia*, which was first played in May, 1688 (Nicoll, p. 373).

as "not acted by this company for nine years."¹ "The principal characters" were "to be performed by those who played them, when it was revived in King Charles the second's time."² But it does not seem possible to reconstruct the cast. The comedy was repeated on June 15.³

The Scornful Lady was put on at Lincoln's Inn Fields, December 10, 1702, as "never acted there before."⁴ It was "revived" for Dogget's benefit, February 11, 1703, with "The Masque of Acis and Galatea." Boxes brought five shillings; the pit, three shillings; and the gallery, two. Dogget took the part of Savil on this occasion, and again on February 11 and March 18, 1704. When the play appeared at the Haymarket, May 28, 1705, it was erroneously described as "not acted for 3 years."⁵

In Victor's *Life of Barton Booth* (1733) is the statement that on the return of that famous tragedian to England "in the Year 1701 . . . The Part of *Maximus* in *Valentinian*, was chose for his first Appearance: Mr. *Verbruggen* play'd the Part of *Valentinian*; Mr. *Betterton*, *Etius*; Mrs. *Barry*, *Lucina*; &c. There never was such general Applause express'd by an Audience, as what was given to Mr. *Booth* on that Occasion: The Parts beforementioned

¹ Genest, ii, 332.

² Genest says: "This could only be true of Betterton and Mrs. Barry, who acted Perez and Margarita, Smith who acted Leon was dead, and Mrs. Cook who was Estisania had left the stage several years" (ii, 332; and see p. 54, above). I have nothing to add to this, except to suggest that these need not have been the only players who appeared in *Rule a Wife* under the Merry Monarch. Underhill, for instance, who was still acting in 1706, might have done Cacafofo at more than one unchronicled repetition of the comedy.

³ Latreille MS.

⁴ *The Daily Courant*, December 9, 1702; Genest, ii, 263. See also p. 101, below.

⁵ Latreille MS.; cf. Genest, ii, 306, 332. Young Loveless was one of the parts in which George Farquhar appeared at the Smock Alley playhouse in Dublin, c. 1696. A list of these — from the 1775 edition of Farquhar's *Works* — may be found in Schmid's *George Farquhar, Sein Leben und seine Original-Dramen*, *Wiener Beiträge*, xviii, p. 18; and in Archer's *Best Plays of George Farquhar*, Mermaid Series, p. 4.

were admirably perform'd, but that was what the Audience expected; the Surprise was, to see a young Man, graceful of Person, performing his Part with a Judgment equal to that of the oldest Actors, and speaking with a Harmony peculiar to himself." ¹ Booth seems, however, to have appeared at Lincoln's Inn Fields the year before, to which time Knight and, on the whole, Genest are inclined to refer this performance.² The tragedy was acted again, February 3, 1704.³

The last play of our authors offered by Betterton's troupe had lain dormant for many years and now appeared only in a pitifully mutilated condition. On January 3, 1706, *The Faithful General*, an alteration of *The Loyal Subject* by Miss M. N., was produced at the Haymarket. The cast was: Galerius, Booth; Marus, Betterton; Theodorus, Verbruggen; Macario, Knap; Lycinius, Corey; Isidorus, Bowman; Aventinus, Freeman; Dameratus, Minns; Ensign, Dickins; Artimesia, Mrs. Porter; Constantia, Mrs. Bradshaw.⁴ The author of the play thanks her friend, the Duchess of Ormond, for having honoured it with her presence. She writes that it was much cut in performance, at which she complains, adding:⁵ "But all the Disadvantages that attended this Tragedy upon the Stage, still more increases my Debt of Gratitude to that illustrious Assembly, that honour'd it the third Day with their Presence. And also for that general Encouragement I met with from all hands, to expect such another crouded House, if I had accepted the Offer

¹ P. 6.

² Knight, *Dictionary of National Biography*, ii, 836; Genest, ii, 228; iii, 214. Genest cites only the account of Booth's first appearance given by Theophilus Cibber (*Lives and Characters of the most Eminent Actors and Actresses*, p. 5). But this was probably borrowed from Victor.

³ Genest, ii, 306. It is uncertain which version of the play was acted at this time. See below, pp. 112 ff.

⁴ From the edition of the same year. Genest also quotes it, in part (ii, 346).

⁵ Sig. A4. See also p. 212, below.

that was made me, to chuse a Day at any time that was most convenient." ¹ This offer she declined because of the cuts alluded to, which as a matter of fact could not but have been creditable to the actors.

Five of these eight Beaumont and Fletcher plays given by the Betterton company were also given, in the same decade, by the company at Drury Lane.² That troupe, moreover, added a full dozen already produced, and one, *Bonduca*, for its first revival since the reopening of the theatres.

On June 12, 1705, for Wilks's benefit came *The Royal Merchant, or Beggars' Bush*, which is described as "not acted 20 years." The cast was: Goswin, Wilks; Clause, Keen; Wolfort, Williams; Hubert, Mills; Hempskirke, Bickerstaffe; Vandunke, Bullock; Higgen, Estcourt; Prigg, Norris *alias* Jubilee Dickey; Jaqueline, Mrs. Cox; Bertha, Mrs. Rogers.³ In the dedication the *Royal Merchant* is described as "not doubting in the least of a prosperous Voyage, especially being now full freighted and cleared from the Embargo's the Actors had formerly put on him on the Stage." This is probably no more than another way of saying "not acted 20 years." The epilogue, "spoken by Mr. Pinke[th]man, mounted on an Ass, a long Whig [*sic*] on the Ass's Head," was a favorite piece — of which more hereafter.⁴ Chetwood has this to say of Robert Wilks as Goswin: "If moving the passions is a

¹ *Advertisement*, sig. A7. The three representations, which were consecutive, are announced in *The Daily Courant*, nos. 1161-1163. The first is thus heralded: "Never Acted before. At the Queen's Theatre in the Hay-Market, this present Thursday, being the 3d of January, will be presented, a new Tragedy, call'd The Faithful General."

² *The Humorous Lieutenant, A King and No King, The Loyal Subject, Rule a Wife, Valentinian*.

³ Genest, ii, 322. His cast is identical, as far as it goes, with that given in the three copies of the 1706 *Royal Merchant* seen by me. These add: Four Merchants, Carnaby, Phillips, Kent, Toms; Snap, Kent; Ferret, Fairbank; Ginks, Tom Wright; Three Boors, Sherman, Harris, Cross. See Appendix ii, below.

⁴ See below, pp. 97, 98.

great Art in Acting, I think Mr. *Wilks* was Master of that Art. There was no avoiding feeling *his* Distress in another Line, when he perform'd the part of the *Royal Merchant* in the *Beggars' Bush*, a Comedy of *Fletcher's*. The Character is noted for benevolent Charity; and when his flinty-hearted Creditors had just press'd him for Payment, *Clause* his old Beadsman (tho' his Father in Disguise) comes as if to beg his usual Charity, when the Merchant replies with such a Tone that sinks into the Soul. '*Clause, I pray thee leave me for by my Troth, I have nothing now to give thee.*'"¹ Repetitions of the play occurred: June 19, 1705, "Benefit of Baggs and Hall"; June 30, 1705, Newman's benefit, with Purcell's Frost Scene from *King Arthur*; October 6, November 9, December 1, and December 26 of the same year; and February 1, March 14, and May 25, 1706.²

The Chances was acted February 5, 1704, and again February 22, 1705; in the second instance for Mrs. Oldfield's benefit.³ The anonymous author of *Authentic Memoirs of the Life of that Celebrated Actress Mrs. Ann Oldfield* (1730) asks: "Who that has seen her *Constantia* in the *Chances*, but has envy'd *Don John*, and would, like him, have fought an Army to have secured her to himself!"⁴

An edition of *The Humorous Lieutenant* was advertised in *The Post Man* of August 28-31, 1697: "This day is published. The last reviv'd Comedy, entituled, the humerous Lieutenant, or the Generous Enemies, as it is now acted by his Majesty's Servants at the Theatre

¹ *A General History of the Stage*, 1741, p. 31. The speech (iii, 2, 50, 51) runs in the early editions and that of 1706:

Thank ye; leave me,

For by my troth, I have nothing now to give thee.

(See also below, p. 88, note.)

² Latreille MS.; Genest lists only two of these (ii, 324, 335).

³ *Idem*, ii, 299, 320.

⁴ P. 26. The allusion is to one of Don John's speeches in the final scene of Buckingham's version.

Royal in *Drury Lane*.”¹ From this edition Genest secured the following cast: Demetrius, Cibber; Lieutenant, Pinkethman; Leontius, Mills; Antigonus, Harland; Celia, Mrs. Verbruggen; Leucippe, Mrs. Bullock (“a mistake for Bullock”); Governess to Celia, Mrs. Powell.² He might have added: Seleucus, Simpson; Charinthus, Disney; Menippus, Rogers; Timon, Charinthus and Menippus (servants to Antigonus), Fairbank, Essex, and Provost.³

The third alteration of Fletcher’s *Island Princess*, an operatic version by Peter Motteux,⁴ seems to have been produced about the middle of the season of 1698–1699. *The Post-Boy* for February 7–9, 1699, contains the advertisement: “This Day is Publish’d, The Words of a New Interlude, called, the Four Seasons . . . and of all the Musical Entertainment in the new Opera, called the Island Princess, or the Generous Portuguese. Performed at the Theatre Royal.”⁵ The cast given in the first edi-

¹ The edition was entered in the *Term Catalogues* in November, 1697 (iii, 40), and again in February, 1698 (iii, 55). In the *Stationers’ Register* the tragi-comedy had been spoken of as “noble enimies or *Hum. Liefetenant*,” January 30, 1673; and “Noble enemy or humorous lieutenant,” August 21, 1683 (ii, 453 ff.; iii, 181 ff.).

² II, 112.

³ The full cast is given by Mr. Bond in *Var. Ed.*, ii, 452.

⁴ The music was written by Daniel Purcell, Jeremy Clarke, and Leveridge; the last named, Mr. Pate, Mr. Bowen, Mr. Freeman, Mr. Crossfield, Mr. Magnus’s Boy, Mrs. Lindsey, and Miss Campion are mentioned as singers. In D’Urfey’s *Pills* (1707, iv, 140, 141) is a new “Epilogue to the Island Princes[s], set by Mr. Clark, Sung by Mrs. Lindsey, and the Boy.”

⁵ The same announcement appeared in the *Term Catalogues* in February, 1699, that of the full text of the opera in May (iii, 119, 124). There are numerous allusions to the piece, during the spring, in the *Post-Boy*, the *Post Man*, and the *Term Catalogues*. Genest wrote: “This Opera seems to have come out in the summer, as Powell desires the audience to spare the play for the sake of the players, who were ‘Left by their rulers for themselves to strive.’” Whatever event this line (from the prologue) may point to, the sum of evidence certainly favors a date during the winter. See above; and note that the concluding “Entertainment” is described as “perform’d at the End of the last Act, but was designed for another Season, and another Occasion: and what is marked thus (”) is omitted.” Passages so marked include the follow-

tion runs:¹ Armusia, Mr. Powell; Ruidias, Mr. Mills; Piniero, Mr. Thomas; King of Tidore, Mr. Evans; the Governor, Mr. Johnson; King of Bakam, Mr. Bullock; Prince of Syana, Mr. Kent; Quisara, Mrs. Rogers; Panura, Mrs. Wilkins.² Gildon in his *Comparison between the Two Stages* (1702) has Sullen, one of the protagonists, say:

We must thus far consider, that they [the two companies] are pretty equal, as to the number of good and bad Plays. But now comes the great Turn which seemed to decide the Fates of *Rome* and *Carthage*: the *old House* have a Bawble offer'd 'em, made out of *Fletcher's Island Princess*, sometime after alter'd by Mr. *Tate*, and now erected into an Opera by *Motteux*: The Actors labour at this like so many Galley Slaves at an Oar, they call in the Fiddle, the Voice, the Painter, and the Carpenter to help 'em; and what neither the Poet nor the Player cou'd do, the Mechanick must do for him: The Town had seen their best at the Drama; and now, I was going to say the House look'd like a brisk Highway-man, who consults his Perruke-maker about the newest Fashion an Hour before his Execution; this new fangled Invention was a melodious Whim —

ing: "The Genius of the Stage appears in a melancholic Posture, with Attendants.

Genius. "Mourn, drooping Seat of Pleasures, mourn.

"Mourn, what all others bless, the Summer's warm Return.
(P. 39)

The "Ballad" at the beginning of the opera puns on the actual Season thus:

Old Mothers,

And Others,

Who've yet a Colt's Tooth,

See us act that in Winter, you'd all act in youth.

Nicoll, p. 368, dates the production c. Feb. 1698-1699.

¹ Some copies of the *Currll Life of that Eminent Comedian Robert Wilks, Esq.*, 1733, say: "The King, in the *Island Princess*, was the first Part Mr. *Wilks* play'd at his Return to England" (p. 6). Others say "*Palamede*, in *Marriage A la Mode*" — which was, as Genest has shown, the rôle Wilks actually played (ii, 146). Knight dates Wilks's return 1698 (*Dictionary of National Biography*, xxi, 280).

² A second edition, printed in 1701, gives the same cast. Genest omits Kent (ii, 164).

Ramble. How new fangled Mr. *Sullen*? you forget the *Prophetess*, King *Arthur*, and the *Fairy Queen*.

Sull. I remember 'em; and pray are they not new . . . but as I was saying - - the *Opera* now possesses the Stage, and after a hard struggle, at length it prevail'd, and something more than Charges came in every Night: The Quality, who are always Lovers of good Musick, flock hither, and by almost a total revolt from the other *House*, give this new Life, and set it in some eminency above the *New*.¹

In a letter to Mrs. Steward, dated February 23,² Dryden inclosed "two lampoons lately made," which he hoped might be worth her reading. One of these, a lengthy piece entitled "The Confederates, or the First Happy Day of the Island Princess,"³ is a fanciful description of the "two factions of ladies" who supported the two companies, and the flocking of the nobility to the old house, where

An Opera with loud Applause is play'd,
Which fam'd *Motteux* in soft Heroicks made.

Sir Thomas Skipworth, "master of the playhouse in Drury-lane," is overjoyed:

Till you appear'd no Prospect did remain
My Crown and falling Scepter to maintain,
No noisy Beaux in all my Realm were found,
No beauteous Nymphs my empty Boxes crown'd.

Lord Scarsdale ("the patron of Betterton's house, being in love with somebody there") leads his forces against Skipworth; but, lest their "bards" perish, the opposing legions retreat,

And safe at home Poetick Wars maintain.

¹ P. 33.

² Malone (*Prose Works of Dryden*, i, ii, 109), and Scott-Saintsbury, xviii, 173, note, supply 1699-1700, but should it not be 1698-1699?

³ Malone (i, ii, 119 ff.); from *State Poems*, ii, 248. Dryden thought it might be by Mr. Walsh.

Another of the *State Poems* is less urbane in character. It contains these verses:

Motteux, and *Durfey* are for nothing fit,
But to supply with Songs their want of Wit.
Had not the *Island Princess* been adorn'd
With Tunes, and pompous Scenes, she had been scorn'd.
What was not *Fletcher's*, no more sense contains
Than he that wrote the *Jubilee*, has Brains.¹

Lady Marow remarks, in a letter to Arthur Kay dated March 12, 1699-1700: "I have been at a play 'The Island Princess' which is mighty fine. 'The way of the World,' Congreve's new play, doth not answer expectation, there being no plot in it but many witty things to ridicule the Chocolate House, and the fantastical part of the world. Your sister Betty was at the assembly last night. I wish we had a good Russell Street husband for her."²

Poor Pierre, the maker of the "whim-wham," did not get much out of all this. Such, at least, is the inference to be drawn from a passage in the anonymous anti-Steele pamphlet called *The State of the Case . . . Restated*, 1720: "'The Island Princess' was altered, and musical words made to it by Mr. *Motteux*. The Patentee or sole Governor denied to give him a *third day* according to custom, the alterations being but few; but the Patentee proffered him a certain sum of money, in consideration of his musical words; which not satisfying Mr. *Motteux*, he summoned him before the Lord Chamberlain, where, by the Mediation of the then Lord Chamberlain's Secretary, the

¹ Malone, I, ii, 120, note; *State Poems*, iv, 361. Malone dates it 1702, though it is there described as "*The Grove: Or the Rival Muses*, 1701." It is printed also in Lowe's *Betterton*, p. 167.

² *Dartmouth Manuscripts*, iii, 145 (*Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fifteenth Report*, Appendix, Part i). Summers, in his introduction to *The Complete Works of William Congreve*, p. 54, quotes a letter of Dryden's, also dated March 12, in which "Congreve's new play" is described as having had "but moderate success." Lady Marow's letter is mentioned neither by him nor by Gosse, *Life of William Congreve*, 1924.

matter was compromised, and the dispute ended, to the satisfaction of the Poet.”¹

Genest records performances of the opera at Drury Lane, November 14, 1702, January 1, 1703, and, for the benefit of Mrs. Rogers, March 25, 1706.² The first of these representations is announced by the *Daily Courant* in these terms: “At the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane, . . . at the desire of several Persons of Quality, to-morrow being the 14th of November, will be reviv’d the Opera call’d *The Island Princess: or The Generous Portuguez*. Wherein Mr. *Leveridge* will perform his own Parts, and particularly the *Enthusiastick* Song compos’d by him.”³ That of January 1, 1703 was “For the Entertainment of Senior *Don Bartholomeo Bernalte Maruso* Alcaide of *Rota*, and several other Strangers lately come from *Spain*.”⁴ The Latreille Manuscript adds a number of performances. That of January 8, 1706, was “with all the original songs & dialogues by the best Performers, particularly . . . *Leveridge*. . . Boxes 5s Pit 3s Gall^y 2s Upper Gall^y 1s 6. To begin at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 exactly.” Others took place January 9–11, 15, 17, 18 and 31; February 7; March 7 and 16; and April 18.

A King and No King was played for the benefit of Captain Griffin, June 15, 1704, being described as “not acted for several years.” Wilks was the Arbaces.⁵ It was repeated April 14 and October 10, 1705.⁶

The Loyal Subject — “not acted 20 years” — was once more on the boards on July 25, 1705. The cast, according to an edition of the play printed almost certainly in 1706, was: Czar, Williams; Archas, Mills; Theodore, Wilks; Putsky, Griffin; Alinda, Mrs. Rogers; Burris, Bickerstaffe; Boroskie, Keen; Ensign, Johnson; Olimpia,

¹ *The Theatre, The Anti-Theatre*, etc., ed. John Nichols, ii, 525.

² II, 252, 268, 339.

³ No. 180.

⁴ No. 223.

⁵ Genest, ii, 300. Griffin, an old actor (ii, 287), may have done *Marconius*.

⁶ *Idem*, ii, 321, 335.

Mrs. Finch; Honoria, Mrs. Temple; Viola, Mrs. Norris; Petesca, Mrs. Cox; Lady (Servant to Olimpia), Mrs. Tapsford.¹ *The Loyal Subject* closed the season on July 27,² and was one of the first plays given the following autumn, September 25.³ The undated quarto which supplies the cast has a preface of somewhat exceptional interest. It reads in part:

This Play having been entertained with a general Approbation, not only formerly when it's *Compilers* were alive and able to support it both by their *Character* and *Interest*; but even now, in this our more *Polite* and *Critical* Age, being lately revived just in its own Native and Original *Simplicity*, without being *dismembred*, *curtail'd*, or passing the *Index Expurgatorius* of any of our Modern *Refiners*, meeting with a kind Reception sutable to its Merit; some *Puny Poetaster* [Miss M. N.]⁴ disguised under the Coverture of a *Petticoat*, hath presumed to graft his wild degenerate Crab, on this Noble *Stock*; but what delicious Fruit it has produced, I leave to the distinguishing Taste of the discerning and generous Encouragers of the Stage.

This spurious Brat being now handing into the World by the Midwifry of the Press, dismally Lame, Distorted, and Imperfect; and the Town having been so penetrating and judicious, as well as kind and tender, that when this legitimate Off-spring of our *Beaumont* and *Fletcher*, appeared on the Stage the very same Day as the *By-Blow* did; it shewed a true Gust of Standard-Wit, and quitted the Imposter to embrace the Legitimate.⁵

Genest names no plays for January 3-4, 1706 (*The Man of Mode* came on the 5th) but *The Daily Courant* informed

¹ It is also given by Genest, ii, 324.

² Latreille MS.; Genest, misreading the Burney MS., gives July 29 (ii, 324).

³ Genest, ii, 335.

⁴ See above, pp. 79 ff.

⁵ The anonymous author of the preface goes on to praise the play. His remarks are quoted in part by Dyce (vi, 3), Genest (i, 346), and in the *Var. Ed.* (ii, 229).

its readers: ¹ "At the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane, this present Friday, being the 4th of January,² will be Reviv'd, a Play call'd, The Loyal Subject, written by Beaumont and Fletcher, with several Entertainments of Singing by Mr. Ramondon and the Boy, particularly a 2 Part Song compos'd by the late Mr. Henry Purcell; and an extraordinary Piece of Musick for a Violin and Flute perform'd by Signior Gasparini, and Mr. Paisible, and Dancing by Monsieur Clerrier and Mrs. Moss."³

The Maid's Tragedy, described as "not acted 12 years," was performed for the benefit of Wilks, February 3, 1704, the creator of Sir Harry Wildair appearing as Amintor.⁴ In the Latreille Manuscript it is announced as given "with a Masque set to Musick by the late Henry Purcell . . . and a new Prologue." The bill was repeated on the following night, and again on February 15, this time for "The Devonshire Girl's benefit." The Devonshire Girl was one of the company's dancers, probably Mrs. Mosse.⁵

Of *The Night Walker* we know that it appeared, after an interregnum of six years, October 18, 1705, with Mrs. Mountford as the Little Thief.⁶ The anonymous author (perhaps Tom Brown) of a controversial work called *The Stage-Beaux toss'd in a Blanket* (1704) says: "*The Soldier's Fortune*, *The Little Thief* of Fletcher (whom Mr. Collier justifies), *The London Cuckolds*, and some others of the

¹ No. 1163.

² That is, the second day of *The Faithful General* at the Haymarket (see p. 79, note, above).

³ Arthur Bedford, a Bristol vicar and a fanatical reformer, complains, in his *Evil and Danger of Stage-Plays*, 1706, of the revival and reprinting of this play, *The Royal Merchant*, and Brome's *Northern Lass*, calling them "remarkably scandalous for *Swearing*, *Cursing*, *Smut* and *Profaneness*, in making a Jest of the *Devil*, the *Torments of Hell* and the *Joys of Heaven*." Yet these "are the Darlings of the present Stage" (p. 198). Even *The Faithful General* comes in for a blast of censure.

⁴ Genest, ii, 298. Chetwood did not "desire to see a better Performer" of the part than Wilks (*General History*, p. 37).

⁵ Latreille MS., pp. 13, 14, 27v^o.

⁶ Genest, ii, 335.

Lewd Stamp, are never frequented by the *Boxes*, or the better part of the *Pit*.”¹

D'Urfey's adaptation of *The Noble Gentleman* (*A Fool's Preferment*) was announced for July 16, 1703, as “not acted 16 years.” On this occasion it was embellished with “a new Prologue to introduce the reading of that spoken by Betterton at Oxford, and a new Epilogue to answer it.”²

An alteration of *Philaster* by Elkanah Settle was printed in 1695, and produced, as the cast indicates, after the secession.³ The part of the King was created by Simpson. Other characters were as follows: Philaster, Powel[l]; Pharamond, Cibbars (Cibber); Dion, Powel[l] sen[ior]; Cleremont, M. Lee (Leigh); Thraselin, Horden; Arethusa, Mrs. Knight; Galatea, Mrs. Cibbars; Megra, Mrs. Kent; Euphrasia, Mrs. Rogers.⁴ When *Philaster* — this time the original — reappeared at Drury Lane on October 13, 1711, it was described as “not acted 15 years.”⁵

An unusually large amount of material is available on the revival of *The Pilgrim* in 1700. The play was adapted by Vanbrugh; Dryden contributed a prologue, epilogue, and Secular Masque; and Mrs. Oldfield, as Alinda, made her first appearance in a part of consequence.

The date has been discussed at some length by Malone

¹ P. 29. Collier did not mention *The Night Walker*. He was on the whole surprisingly tolerant towards Fletcher (see *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage*, pp. 54 ff.).

² Genest, ii, 275.

³ The title-page has 1695, but the play was not entered in the *Term Catalogues* until June, 1696 (ii, 590). Nicoll dates the production c. December, 1695 (p. 372), though the fact that neither Bullock nor Verbruggen is named would suggest a time early in the preceding spring. See Nicoll, pp. 301, 323-325, 344-346; Genest, ii, 68 ff.

⁴ Quoted also by Genest, ii, 66.

⁵ Genest, ii, 488. George Farquhar appeared as Dion in *Philaster* at Ashbury's Smock Alley playhouse, about 1696 (Schmid, *George Farquhar*, p. 18; Archer's *Best Plays of George Farquhar*, p. 4).

and Genest.¹ They agree that the Secular Masque "was intended to have been produced on the 25th of March, 1700." Genest holds fast to this as the day on which the play was acted. Malone felt inclined to believe that it was not acted till after Dryden's death; but, while the sheet on which he wrote this was passing through the press, he learned that the prologue and epilogue were not written above three weeks before that event — which occurred on May 1. He had already discovered, from an advertisement in the *London Gazette*,² that the comedy was to be published on June 18.

The first of these limits is determined by a letter from Dryden to Mrs. Steward, dated "Thursday, April 11th 1700." "Within this moneth there will be play'd, for my profit, an old play of Fletcher's, call'd the 'Pilgrim' corrected by my good friend Mr. Vanbrook; and to which I have added a new masque; and am to write a new prologue and epilogue."³ Malone's other limit, June 18, may be pushed back a little by the fact, hitherto unnoticed, that a number of the added songs were printed in *Mercurius Musicus: or, The Monthly Collection of New Teaching Songs*, for May, 1700.⁴ Lowe states that "The B. M. copy of 'The Pilgrim' is dated in an old handwriting, 'Monday the 5 of May.'" Such ascriptions are, of course, not wholly to be disregarded, but the present one is rendered dubious by the fact that in 1700 the fifth fell on a Sunday. Another date is suggested by a passage in William Egerton's *Faithful Memoirs of the Life Amours*

¹ *Prose Works of Dryden*, i, i, 330-335; Genest, ii, 179 ff.

² Monday, June 17: "Tomorrow will be Published the Pilgrim; A Comedy: As it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-lane. . . . Likewise a Prologue, Epilogue, Dialogue and Masque, written by the late Mr. Dryden, just before his Death, being the last of his Works." The *Term Catalogues* give notice of it in June (iii, 199).

³ Scott-Saintsbury, xviii, 179.

⁴ Pp. 31 ff. The *Term Catalogues* (which do not mention the May number) show that the *Monthly Collection* usually appeared with some promptness (see, for example, iii, 124, 140).

and Performances of Mrs. Anne Oldfield (1731):¹ "Her [Mrs. Oldfield's] *Second Appearance* was in a more Capital Part, *Alinda*, in the *Pilgrim* of Beaumont and Fletcher, in which Sir John Vanbrugh made some Alterations, and Mr. Dryden wrote a *Masque*, to render the Revival of this Play more agreeable to the Town, together with a New *Prologue* and *Epilogue*. The *Pilgrim* was indeed revived for the Benefit of Mr. Dryden, *Ann.* 1700, but he dying on the third Night of its Representation, his Son attended the Run of it, and the Advantages accrued to his Family." In view of the lack of evidence to the contrary, I believe that April 29 is probably as close to the actual date as we can reach.²

Gildon's *Comparison between the Two Stages* (1702) agrees with the *Faithful Memoirs* on one point. Critick, one of the protagonists, tells of the attempts of the Lincoln's Inn Fields company to gain an advantage over their rivals by reviving Shakespeare, and the countering of the "Old House" with Jonson. He goes on: "Nay then, says the whole party at *D. Lane*, faith we'll e'en put the *Pilgrim* upon him - - - ay faith, so we will, says *Dryden*, and if you'll let my Son have the Profits of the *Third Night*, I'll give you a *Secular Mask*: Done, says the House, and so the Bargain was struck."³

Cibber describes *The Pilgrim* as "revived in 1700 for Dryden's Benefit." Colley himself spoke both prologue and epilogue, a somewhat unusual procedure, he notes, and one which he thus explains: "Sir John Vanbrugh, who had given some slight touches of his Pen to the *Pilgrim*, to assist the Benefit Day of *Dryden*, had the Disposal of the Parts, and I being then, as an Actor, in some Favour

¹ P. 2.

² Malone did "not believe this to have been the case" (1, i, 331, note); but he recognizes (as does Genest) that the allusion to Dryden in the printed play as "late great poet" does not prove that the first performance took place before his death. Nicoll dates the revival c. April, 1700 (p. 375).

³ P. 44.

with him, he read the Play first, with me alone, and was pleased to offer me my Choice of what I might like best for myself, in it." Finding the chief rôles not to his taste, the comedian asked only for

two short incidental Parts, that of *the stuttering Cook* and *the mad Englishman*. In which homely Characters, I saw more Matter for Delight, than those that might have a better Pretence to the Aimable: And when the Play came to be acted, I was not deceiv'd, in my choice. Sir *John*, upon my being contented with so little a Share in the Entertainment, gave me the Epilogue to make up my Mess. . . . And *Dryden*, upon his hearing me repeat it, to him, made me a farther Compliment of trusting me with the Prologue. This so particular Distinction was looked upon, by the Actors, as something too extraordinary. But no one was so impatiently ruffled at it, as *Wilks*, who seldom chose soft Words, when he spoke of anything he did not like.¹

The cast, according to the first edition of the adaptation, was: Alphonso, Mr. Johnson; Pedro, Mr. Wilks; Roderigo, Mr. Powell; Governour of Segovia, Mr. Simson; Mad Scholar, Mr. Thomas; Mad Parson, Mr. Haynes; Mad Englishman [and Stuttering Cook — Genest], Mr. Cibber; Mad Welshman, Mr. Norris; Mad Taylor, Mr. Pinke[th]man; Alinda, Mrs. Oldfield; Juletta, Mrs. Moor.² As has been noted, Mrs. Oldfield was making her real début on this occasion. Cibber says of her:

In the Year 1699, Mrs. *Oldfield* was first taken into the House, where she remained about a Twelvemonth almost a Mute, and unheeded, 'till Sir *John Vanbrugh*, who first recommended her, gave her the Part of *Alinda*, in the *Pilgrim* revis'd. This gentle Character, happily became that want of Confidence which is inseparable from young Beginners . . .

¹ *Apology*, 1740, pp. 221, 222. Wilks's wrath is described at some length in the passage which follows.

² Also in Genest (ii, 179). *Mercurius Musicus* and *A Collection of New Songs* . . . in *The Revis'd Comedy call'd The Pilgrim* (1700) name Mr. Freeman, Mr. Pate, and Mrs. Erwin as singers in the masque.



ANNE OLDFIELD

Notwithstanding, I own I was, then, so far deceiv'd in my Opinion of her, that I thought, she had little more than her Person, that appear'd necessary to the forming of a good Actress; for she set out with so extraordinary a Diffidence, that it kept her too despondingly down, to a formal, plain (not to say) flat manner of speaking. Nor could the silver Tone of her Voice, 'till after some time, incline my Ear to any Hope, in her favour.¹

Chetwood gives a somewhat different account: "*Alinda* in the *Pilgrim* was the first Part she was taken Notice of, which Sir *John Vanbrugh* alter'd and reviv'd upon her Account, which is a Character of different Species of Passions and Variety, where she charm'd the Play into a Run of many succeeding Nights."² For her benefit the comedy was acted July 6, 1700, when the *Post-Boy* announced: "For the Benefit of Mrs. Oldfield. This day, at The Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane, will be performed a Comedy called *The Pilgrim*: revised with large Alterations and additions, and a Secular Masque: with the Dialogue between the two mad lovers."³ Other repetitions took place: on July 3, 1703 (for the "benefit of Mrs. Lucas . . . with a new Epilogue by the little girl who played Queen Bess in *Anna Bullen*");⁴ on October 8, November 11, and December 16, 1703; January 14, and March 23, 1704 (on the last occasion for the benefit of Mrs. Mayers, a dancer, and accompanied by "a Masque set to musick by the famous Mr. Henry Purcell"); on November 3 of the same year; January 29, and February 9, 1706.⁵

In the *Post-Boy* of December 16-18, 1697 is the following item: "We hear that the Marquiss of Carmathen who

¹ P. 247 (cf. p. 118, below).

² *General History of the Stage*, p. 203.

³ Quoted from Malone, I, i, 335; cf. Genest, ii, 181.

⁴ Genest, ii, 275. He believes that the little girl was Miss Younger.

⁵ Latreille MS.; cf. Genest, who records three of the performances, ii, 295, 317, 339.

lately Entertain'd the Great Officer from the *Czar* of Muscovy, at the Opera call'd the Prophetess, has this day Bespoke the Entertainment of the Indian Queen at the Theatre Royal." This performance of *The Prophetess* can only be put vaguely in November or December.¹ Another is announced in the *Post-Boy* of January 13 (Thursday)–January 15 (Saturday), 1698: "'Tis said that this day will be Acted, at the Theatre in Dorset-Garden, the Opera, called *Prophetess* on *Dioclesian*, at the Request of a Nobleman; they will not tell us who, but we presume for the Entertainment of a very great Forreigner."² The identity of this foreigner is explained in the next number of the paper, where we read: "'Tis said that the Czar of *Muscooy*, was at the Playhouse on *Saturday*, to see the Opera." The Burney Manuscript indicates a repetition, "at the King's Theatre," June 1, 1700; and there were others, October 17, 1702, "for the Benefit of Mills," and May 23, 1705.³ In this last or some later unrecorded performance, Mrs. Tofts seems to have been the Delphia. Such, at any rate, is the inference to be drawn from one of the items in an amusing "Inventory of the movables of Ch[ristoph]er R[i]ch, Esq.," which appeared in the *Tatler* of July 16, 1709. There, among the "many curious articles of furniture" he had to dispose of, are set down: "A coach very finely gilt, and little used, with a pair of dragons, to be sold cheap"; and "A wild-boar, killed by Mrs. Tofts and

¹ The *Post-Boy* of November 6–9 notes: "Five Forreigners of Note, said to be of the Retinue of the Czar of *Muscovy*, have been to see all the Rari — in this City and Suburbs, and are since gone to *Windsor* and *Oxford*." Narcissus Luttrell wrote on the 18th that "most people are of the opinion that the Czar of Muscovy is here incognito." (*Brief Relation of State Affairs*, 1857, iv, 306, 307). And the *Post Man* of December 14–16 has the item: "A gentleman of the Retinue of the Czar being arrived here, it has given birth to a discourse that his Czarish Majesty is in Town."

² Dr. Burney assigns the performance erroneously to Lincoln's Inn Fields.

³ Latreille MS.; cf. Genest, ii, 254, 322.

Dioclesian.”¹ Mrs. Tofts was on the stage as early as 1703–1704,² while the “little used” might be supposed to indicate that *The Prophetess* had not been given often, if at all, for some years previous.³ At its revival on December 3, 1715, the piece was spoken of as “not acted 16 years.”⁴

Rule a Wife and Have a Wife was on the boards October 16, 1702; November 29, 1703; February 19, 1704; October 16 and November 3, 1705; and January 21, 1706. On the last three occasions Mrs. Mountfort was announced as the Estisania.⁵ Genest finds that *The Sea Voyage* — almost certainly D’Urfey’s version — was represented on June 9, 1702;⁶ and *Valentinian* (Miss Santlow’s benefit), on April 16, 1706. The tragedy had not been acted “12 years.” Wilks played the name part, and Mrs. Oldfield, Lucina.⁷

Of *A Wife for a Month*, Langbaine had written: “This Play is in my poor Judgment well worth reviving, and with the alteration of a judicious Pen, would be an excellent Drama.”⁸ A certain Thomas Scott attempted the task in a version named *The Unhappy Kindness*.

¹ Dyce quotes the two items, viii, 209.

² Grove’s *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 1914, v, 114, 115.

³ A few days later the *Tatler* informed its readers that “a gentleman of Hampshire had clandestinely bought” the coach and dragons, “and is gone down to his country seat; and that on Saturday last he passed through Staines . . . drawn by the said Dragons, assisted by two only of his own horses.” Rich, the notice goes on, had been invited to “be box-keeper to a theatre erected by this gentleman near Southampton” (No. 44, July 21). The Hampshire purchaser is said to have been “a Mr. Richard Norton” (*Tatler*, ed. Aitken, i, 358, note), but the subsequent fate of the coach and dragons remains uncertain.

⁴ Genest, ii, 582.

⁵ Latreille MS. Genest gives some of the performances, ii, 254, 296, 335. For *The Scornful Lady*, see pp. 101, 102, below.

⁶ Genest, ii, 254. See also p. 66, above; pp. 110, 111, below.

⁷ Genest, ii, 341. Miss Santlow later played the Eunuch (Lycias) in the same play: but that was her first appearance in boy’s clothes (see pp. 112, 113, below).

⁸ *Account*, p. 60.

Gildon, in his revision of Langbaine's work, speaks of it as "a Tragedy 4^{to} acted at the Theatre Royal, 1696."¹ In the same writer's *Comparison between the Two Stages*, Sullen, who is enumerating the pieces given at Drury Lane, styles *The Mock Marriage* "a young Fellows of the Town, a Retainer, and kind of Pensioner to the Stage."

R[amble.] What was it's Fate?

S[ullen.] Damn'd, Damn'd: *Unhappy Kindness*, the same Author's, but every word stole.

R. The Success?

S. Damn'd. *Cornish Comedy*. No matter whose, 'twas Damn'd.²

Both the *Mock Marriage* and Powell's *Cornish Comedy* were published, and presumably acted, in 1696;³ and thus, by implication anyway, *The Unhappy Kindness* is again assigned to the same year. On the other hand, this last play was not printed until 1697 (when is uncertain) and Genest assumes that its production did not take place until that year.⁴ In view of Gildon's testimony this seems to me unlikely. The alteration was certainly first acted during the summer, as appears from Scott's prologue:

I'm thinking, Sirs, how soon we are undone,
Deserted thus by the inconstant Town.
Where are those Friends, that did in numerous throngs
Crowd to our Musick, and applaud our Songs?
Curse on this dull preposterous Soil! since all
The Winter gave the Summer must recal;
Tho more than *Greenland* Frosts prevail'd elsewhere,
Yet then you found a warm Reception here,
But now *Hide-Park* scarce yeilds so fresh an Air.
Well then, we have resolv'd, till your return,
Since you, our Sovereigns, leave us, we'll adjourn.

¹ *Lives and Characters*, p. 122.

² P. 28.

³ Genest, ii, 76, 81; Nicoll, pp. 370, 371.

⁴ II, 104-106. Nicoll gives the same date (p. 371).

And the preface says of the play: "As it is, it may bear up in the Winter, notwithstanding the little Encouragement it met with at its first appearance from a thin Town, and the Scarcity of Money."¹ That this was the summer of 1696 seems probable in view of the fact that Rochester's *Letters*, first entered in the *Term Catalogues*² in May, 1697, is advertised on the title-page of *The Unhappy Kindness* as "now in the Press."³ The cast was: Alphonso, Mr. Verbruggen; Frederick, Mr. Harland; Valerio, Mr. Williams; Sorano, Mr. Disney; Pisano, Mr. Mills; Petruchio, Mr. Hill; Pedro, Mr. Neuth; Evanthe, Mrs. Rogers; Queen Mother, Mrs. Powel[l].⁴ The epilogue, here described as "written, and spoke, by Mr. Haynes, in the Habit of a Horse Officer, mounted on an Ass," was more successful than the play, serving, as we have seen, to conclude *The Royal Merchant*, and being printed also in the Duke of Buckingham's *Works* (1705),⁵

¹ Sig. A2. See Genest, ii, 106. Burnet shows that the situation was acute in the summer of 1696 (*History of his own Time*, 1833, iv, 316 ff.).

² III, 16.

³ This does not quite clinch the matter, for the edition of Rochester's *Letters* announced in *The Unhappy Kindness* was to be "printed for Sam Briscoe," while that in the *Term Catalogues* is for R. Wellington. It should be pointed out, however, that the same thing is true of Mrs. Behn's *Novels and Histories*, advertised in the second edition of the *Letters* (1697) as printed for Briscoe, and in the *Catalogues* as for R. Wellington (iii, 38). Again, the 1697 *Rule a Wife* was "printed for Sam Briscoe . . . and sold by Richard Wellington" (cf. p. 77, note, above); but was listed in the May *Term Catalogue* only as "printed for R. Wellington" (iii, 15). Probably in all three cases a single edition is meant. Mr. H. R. Plomer, in his *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers from 1668 to 1725*, Oxford, 1922, points out that at this time "nearly all booksellers were also publishers, and the copyright of books, instead of being vested as formerly in one or two men, was frequently divided amongst all the principal booksellers in London and the Universities" (p. ix). It should be observed, also, that Briscoe himself did not advertise in the *Term Catalogues* after February, 1696. His connection with Wellington is supported by the fact that a number of plays sold by the latter are advertised at the end of the second edition of Rochester's *Letters* (Briscoe) already mentioned. This edition, finally, is probably to be identified with a second advertisement of the *Letters*, "for R. Wellington," in the November *Term Catalogue*, iii, 42.

⁴ From the quarto. Genest, ii, 104, gives it without Mills, Hill, and Neuth.

⁵ II, 30.

in Tom Brown's *Remains* (1720),¹ and at the end of an undated quarto of *The Scornful Lady*.²

Gildon evidently bore no good will towards the amiable George Farquhar. Sullen, Ramble, and Critick, in his *Comparison between the Two Stages*, busied themselves making ready a grave for *The Inconstant* before that unfortunate comedy had seen the light. Their discourse, shorn of its heavy generalizations, is to this effect:

Ramb[le]. Do you know what Play is now in rehearsal in this House?

Sull[en]. I never go near 'em; but I hear 'tis one of his who writ the *Trip to the Jubilee*. . . .

Ramb. Pray what is it?

Sull. I have not heard the Name, but am told its intirely *Fletcher's*.

Ramb. 'Tis a sign his Muse is at an ebb; but if he alters it, 'tis a Thousand to One, he spoils it, which of *Fletcher's* pray?

Sull. *The Wild Goose Chase*.

Ramb. But why that? I have seen it Acted with good Applause,³ and needed no Alteration.

Sull. No matter for that; he vamps it up, and with some wretched Interpolations of his own, passes it for New, but I'll undertake to mark out his from *Fletcher's*, as evidently as I can perceive the River *Dee* runs thro' the great Lake in *Wales*. . . . If *Fletcher* had not had the misfortune to be in *English*, he had escap'd this Highway Man.

Crit[ick]. What torment do the Ghosts of our old Writers endure from the racks and pains they receive from the new! How are their sacred Ashes disturb'd by every prophane Scribbler.⁴

The cast was as follows: Old Mirabel, Mr. Penkithman; Young Mirabel, Mr. Wilks; Capt. Duretete, Mr. Bul-

¹ *Works*, 1721, p. 233. It is there accompanied by a cut which has been frequently reproduced.

² *Var. Ed.*, i, 357.

³ I have found no record of its being given since Pepys saw it in 1668. Langbaine called it "valued by the best Judges of Poetry" (p. 216), which Gildon changed to "has been in good repute" (p. 60).

⁴ Pp. 173, 177.

lock; Dugart, Mills; Petit, Mr. Norris; Oriana, Mrs. Rogers; Bizarre, Mrs. Verbruggen; Lamorce, Mrs. Kent.¹ *The Inconstant* was advertised in the *Term Catalogues* in February, 1702;² and in the preface, part of which I quote, is an allusion to the "Cremona business" — that is to Prince Eugene's adventurous attack of February 1, 1701–1702.³ "As to the success of it," Farquhar wrote, "I think 'tis but a kind of *Cremona* business, I have neither lost nor won, I pushed fairly, but the *French* were prepossess'd, and the charms of *Gallic* Heels, were too hard for an *English* Brain." Then comes a long passage on the popularity of a French dancer, and "the complaisance, liberality, and good nature" of the people who crowded to see her,

and left a poor Fellow, that had the misfortune of being one of themselves, without one farthing, for half a years pains that he had taken for their entertainment. . . . There were some Gentlemen in the Pit the first night, that took the hint from the Prologue to damn the Play; but they made such a noise in the execution, that the People took the outcry for a reprieve; so that the darling mischief was overlay'd by their over-fondness of the Changeling. . . . Tho the cause has come on six days successively,⁴ yet the tryal, I fancy is not determin'd. When our devotion to *Lent* and our Lady⁵ is over,

¹ From the quarto; given also by Genest, ii, 251.

² "In a few days will be published the last new Comedy, call'd *The Inconstant*. Acted at the Theatre Royal" (iii, 294).

³ G. B. Malleon, *Prince Eugene of Savoy*, 1888, p. 77; L. H. Wetzer, *Spanischer Successions-Krieg*, in *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen*, 1877, Ser. i, vol. iv, p. 94. Dr. Schmid recognized the allusion but, not having used *The Term Catalogues*, put the première "im März 1702 während der Fastenzeit" (George Farquhar, pp. 200–202). Nicoll gives it plausibly as about February, 1702 (*Early Eighteenth Century Drama*, 1925, p. 148). It should be noted that Gildon's *Comparison* — which was written, as we have seen, while *The Inconstant* was still in rehearsal — bears the date 1702. In what month it appeared I have been unable to learn.

⁴ Chetwood sets it down as played "11 Nights" (*General History of the Stage*, p. 152). An account, based on the preface, cast, and the play itself, may be found in the Curll *Life of Robert Wilks*, 1733, pp. 13 ff.

⁵ The French dancer.

the business will be brought on again, and then shall we have fair play for our Money. There is a Gentleman of the first Understanding, and a very good Critick, who said of Mr. *Wilks*, that in this part he out-acted himself, and all men that he ever saw. I would not rob Mr. *Wilks*, by a worse expression of mine, of a Compliment that he so much deserves.

If this revival ever took place, it seems not to have been in any degree successful. Genest does not mention poor George's play again until December 18, 1715, when it was spoken of as "not acted 14 years."¹

"*Bonduca*: or the British Heroine. A Tragedy. Acted at the Theatre Royal. By His Majesty's Servants. With a new Entertainment of Musick. Vocal and Instrumental. Never Printed or Acted before" appeared among the advertisements in *The London Gazette*, October 24, 1695.² The title-page, however, which is identical in wording, bears the date 1696³ — probably a case of dating ahead — and Genest assigned the production to that year,⁴ while Mr. Nicoll gives it as "c. May 1696."⁵ The cast printed with the list of *dramatis personae* runs: Suetonius, Mr. Verbruggen; Petilius, Mr. Harland; Junius, Mr. Hill; Decius, Mr. Eldred; Macer, Mr. Mic. Lee (Leigh); Caratach, Mr. Powell, Jun[ior]; Venutius, Mr. Horden; Hengo, Miss Allison; Nennius, Mr. Mills; Macquaire, Mr. Simpson; Bonduca, Mrs. Knight; Claudia, Mrs. Rogers; Bonvica, Mrs. Cross.⁶ George Powell, the actor, thus introduces it:

I must make room for one page more, to tell you how our *Bonduca* set Foot upon the Stage. The Value of the Original is not unknown to those who have read it in *Fletcher*: A Value

¹ II, 609.

² Noted by Dr. Alan Gray, *The Works of Henry Purcell*, vol. xvi, p. vii.

³ The *Term Catalogues* notice it in June 1696 (ii, 590).

⁴ II, 72.

⁵ *History of Restoration Drama*, p. 370.

⁶ Given, without Eldred, by Genest, ii, 72. From *Thesaurus Musicus*, 1696, p. 3, we learn that the singers included Mr. Edwards and Mr. Freeman. Cf. Squire, *Purcell's Dramatic Music*, pp. 500, 501.

that has often times been prized so high, that the whole Brotherhood of the Quill have for many Years been blamed for letting so Ingenious a Relick of the Last Age, as *Bonduca*, lie dormant, when so inconsiderable an Additional Touch of the Pen was wanting to make it fit for an Honourable Reception in This.

This Consideration prompted a Friend of mine, a much abler Hand than my own, to attempt it; not that his Leisure, Attendance, or Inclinations, would permit him to make any long Toil of it. For to tell the Truth, the whole Play was revised quite through, and likewise studied up in one Fortnight.

This Undertaker, who bestow'd but Four Days Labour upon it, being above the Interest Part of an Author; and likewise a Person of that Modesty, as to affect no Plumes from Poetry, he was generously pleased to put it into my Hands to usher it into the World.¹

The anonymity of the "Undertaker" is only rendered more mysterious by Gildon's notice: "This Play on the Revival (for it is Scarce to be said more) tho' the two Universities club'd to the Alterations, did not succeed so well as it deserv'd, considering it almost all *Fletcher's*." Gildon adds that it was "acted at the Theatre in Dorset Garden."² *Bonduca* appeared again, February 12, 1706, for the benefit of Wilks, being described as "not acted for six years . . . with all the original music by Purcell and dancing by De Ruel & Mrs. Ruel." It was repeated on the 18th.³

Before going on to summarize the decade just completed, a possible performance of *The Scornful Lady* at Drury Lane must be briefly considered. Egerton's *Faithful Memoirs of Mrs. Anne Oldfield* (1731) contains an account of a duel between the notorious Beau Feilding and a certain Mr. Fulwood, "at a Representation of the *Scornful Lady* some years ago for the Benefit of Mrs. Oldfield,"

¹ Sig. A3 v^o; quoted also by Dyce, v, sig. B2.

² *Lives and Characters*, p. 157, under "Unknown Authors." Elsewhere he says: "This play has been twice reviv'd" (p. 57).

³ Latreille MS.; cf. Genest, ii, 339.

and of a second duel between Fulwood and one Captain Cusack, who had fallen foul of each other later in the same evening at a performance of *The Libertine* at Lincoln's Inn Fields.¹ In this second affair Fulwood was killed. The story — which is repeated in the Betterton-Oldys *History of the English Stage*,² *The Biographia Dramatica*,³ and elsewhere — almost certainly refers to encounters between Feilding and one Goodyer on December 14, 1702, and Fulwood and Cusack the next night.⁴ Mrs. Oldfield was at Drury Lane at that time, but on both evenings the play there was Farquhar's *Twin Rivals*,⁵ while I have found no allusion to the company's doing *The Scornful Lady* until after the union of 1708. Perhaps the fact that Fletcher's comedy had been "reviv'd" at the other house on the tenth⁶ led to the error; or it may be that the story was attached to Mrs. Oldfield as a good thing in itself. . . .

Twenty-one Beaumont and Fletcher plays were given during these years (1695-1706);⁷ eighteen, in the slightly longer period just before. That these figures represent a decline is, however, unquestionable when we remember that only one company was acting from 1682 to 1695, two in the succeeding years; and that our material for these is more than correspondingly full. Add that about half of the plays retained were now acted only in altera-

¹ P. 70.

² 1746, pp. 51, 52.

³ 1812, iii, 294 ff.

⁴ See Archer's *Best Plays of George Farquhar*, p. 9, note; Luttrell, *Brief Relation*, v, 247; *The Daily Courant*, December 17, 1702.

⁵ Archer, p. 150; *The Daily Courant*, December 9, 1702.

⁶ See p. 78, above.

⁷ One Restoration première (*Bonduca*), twenty plays already represented (*Beggars' Bush*, *Bloody Brother*, *Chances*, *Humorous Lieutenant*, *Island Princess*, *King and No King*, *Loyal Subject*, *Maid in the Mill*, *Maid's Tragedy*, *Night Walker*, *Noble Gentleman*, *Philaster*, *Pilgrim*, *Prophetess*, *Rule a Wife*, *Scornful Lady*, *Sea Voyage*, *Valentinian*, *Wife for a Month*, *Wild-Goose Chase*). Four which had been played in the preceding period (*Double Marriage*, *Knight of Malta*, *Spanish Curate*, and *Wit without Money*) were dropped in this; six (*Loyal Subject*, *Maid in the Mill*, *Night Walker*, *Pilgrim*, *Wife for a Month*, *Wild-Goose Chase*) were revived after years of desuetude.

tions of some kind, and it will be seen that the situation is far removed from that which prevailed in the sixties.¹ Yet Farquhar, writing in 1702, could still speak of "Fletcher's Plays" — along with *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and *Harry the fourth* — as having "long been the Darlings of the English Audience, and are like to continue with the same Applause, in Defiance of all the Criticisms that ever were publish'd in *Greek*, and *Latin*." ²

8. FROM THE REINFORCEMENT OF THE HAYMARKET COMPANY UNDER SWINEY TO THE OPENING OF 'HER MAJESTY'S ONLY COMPANY OF COMEDIANS,'
OCTOBER 15, 1706—JANUARY 15, 1708

The rump of the Drury Lane Company seems to have acted only three of our authors' plays. *The Island Princess*, still in its operatic dress, was given December 10, 18, and 27, 1706; November 29, and December 20, 1707; and January 3, 1708. Powell was set down for *Armusia* on the last occasion (as he had been on November 29), and the audience was promised "all the original entertainments," with Leveridge and Mrs. Lindsey starring, "and several new entertainments of dancing by Miss Santlow and Mrs. Evans. With a variety of comic dances proper to the opera." ³ *Rule a Wife* was announced for December 17, 1707, as "not acted 3 years," Leon being performed by Powell and Estisania by Mrs. Mountfort.⁴ Finally, *The Sea Voyage*, in D'Urfey's adaptation, came January 15, 1707, as "not acted 5 years." ⁵

¹ *Bonduca*, *Chances*, *Island Princess*, *Noble Gentleman*, *Philaster*, *Pilgrim*, *Prophetess*, *Sea Voyage*, *Wife for a Month*, *Wild-Goose Chase*. Two others, *Beggars' Bush* and *Maid in the Mill*, are doubtful (see p. 76, above, and Appendix ii). *Valentinian* was probably in Rochester's version (see below, pp. 112 ff.). *The Loyal Subject* was given both as originally written and as altered by Miss M. N.

² "A Discourse upon Comedy," *Love and Business*, p. 146.

³ Latreille MS.; cf. Genest, ii, 356, 384.

⁴ It had been put up for the 15th, but was postponed. Latreille MS.; Burney MS.; Genest, ii, 384.

⁵ Genest, ii, 356 (see p. 66, above).

Seven plays are recorded at the Haymarket before the Union. *The Royal Merchant* (*Beggars' Bush*) was acted for the first time at that theatre on October 22, 1706, and was repeated on November 8.¹ On February 14, 1707, Genest gives it with Florez, Wilks; Vanduncke, Bullock; Prigg, Norris; Wolfort, Booth; Hubert, Mills; Bertha, Mrs. Bradshaw; Jacqueline, Mrs. Bignall.² To these the Latreille Manuscript adds: Higgen, Fairbank; Gerard, Keen; Hemskirk, Husbands; and Snap, Kent. On November 14, 1707, the parts were similarly assigned, but without mention of Kent.³

On January 21, 1707, was announced *A King and No King* "by Subscription."⁴ Cibber explains the phrase as follows: "A Proposal . . . was drawn up, and addressed to that Noble Lord ["the, then, Lord *Hallifax*"] for his Approbation, and Assistance, to raise a publick Subscription for Reviving Three Plays of the best Authors, with the full Strength of the Company; every Subscriber to have Three Tickets, for the first Day of each Play, for his single Payment of Three Guineas. This Subscription his Lordship so zealously encouraged, that from his Recommendation chiefly, in a very little time, it was completed. The Plays were *Julius Cæsar* of *Shakespeare*; the *King and no King* of *Fletcher*; and the Comic Scenes of *Dryden's Marriage à la mode*, and of his *Maiden Queen* put together. . . . By the Aid of this Subscription, which happened in 1707, and by the additional Strength, and Industry of this Company, not only the Actors, (several of which were handsomely advanced, in their Sallaries) were duly paid, but the Menager himself too, at the Foot of his Account, stood a considerable Gainer."⁵

¹ Latreille MS.; cf. Genest, ii, 357.

² II, 365.

³ Latreille MS.; cf. Genest, ii, 392. Burney was mainly responsible for the omissions in Genest, but names Kent in the first instance.

⁴ Genest, ii, p. 364.

⁵ *Apology*, 1740, pp. 275, 276.

The Maid's Tragedy was acted November 2, 1706; with Amintor played by Wilks, Melantius by Betterton, the King by Mills, Evadne by Mrs. Barry, and Aspatia by Mrs. Bracegirdle — surely a distinguished cast.¹ A year later, on November 6, 1707, Wilks, Betterton, Mills, and Mrs. Barry reappeared in the same parts, Mrs. Rogers replacing Mrs. Bracegirdle as Aspatia, while Norris played Calianax, and Keen, Diphilus.² A satirical passage in *The Female Tatler* of October 7-10, 1709, probably identifies Mrs. Barry with Evadne. We have "my Lady Harriot Lovely" proposing to write a comedy, "which was only opposed by Mrs. Cavil, who asserted, that no Woman ever yet turn'd *Poetess*, but lost her *Reputation* by appearing at *Rehearsals*, and *Conversing* with *Imoinda*, *Desdemona*, and a *Maidenhead Amintor at my Years*,³ who expect *Compliments* for promoting their own *Livelihood*, and wou'd immediately fright *Virtue* from my *Drawing-Room*, by having the assurance to Visit me."⁴ An elderly and notoriously immoral actress must have found the quotation offensive enough.⁵

The Pilgrim, in Vanbrugh's adaptation, was put on at the Haymarket, April 30, 1707, for Mrs. Bignall's benefit, being described as "never acted there." The cast was:

¹ Genest, ii, 357.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 391.

³ Cf. *The Maid's Tragedy*, ii, 1, 198, 199.

⁴ No. 41.

⁵ It must be admitted that in a later issue of *The Female Tatler* (no. 89) "an Ingenious Critick" is quoted as saying of "that Inimitable Player Mrs. Barry; That as her Perfections were ever New and Charming, so her very Mistakes had something in them which prejudic'd us in her Favour." But the aptness of the hit, and the fact that no other actress seems to have done Evadne in these years (1706-1710) make Mrs. Cavil's allusion sufficiently clear. Perhaps the "Ingenious Critick" was brought forward by way of making amends — or was merely ironical. As for *Imoinda* and *Desdemona*, the former probably points to Mrs. Rogers (*Female Tatler*, no. 29; Genest, ii, 71, 401; Cibber's *Apology*, ed. Lowe, pp. 135, 136), the latter, perhaps to Mrs. Bradshaw (cf. *Daily Courant*, March 24, 1709; Genest, ii, 475). Cibber says that on the stage, "Those remarkable Words of Evadne" were sometimes "a much stronger jest, for being a true one." *Apology* (1740), p. 204.

Pedro, Wilks; Alphonso, Johnson; Roderigo, Mills; Lopez, Bullock; Mad Scholar, Keen; Mad Englishman, Cibber; Mad Taylor, Bowen; Mad Priest, Pack; Mad Welshman, Norris; Alinda, Mrs. Oldfield; Juletta, Mrs. Bignall.¹ It was repeated, for Mrs. Leigh's benefit, on May 23; this time as "never acted there but once." It has been assumed, accordingly, that a performance announced for May 20 did not take place.² Another is advertised for May 30; and on October 27 we find that the leading parts were still in the same hands: Alphonso, Johnson; Pedro, Wilks; Roderigo, Mills; Lopez, Bullock; Mad Englishman, Cibber; Mad Welshman, Norris; Mad Priest, Pack; Alinda, Mrs. Oldfield; Juletta, Mrs. Bicknell.³ They continued so at representations on November 21, 1707, and January 5, 1708.⁴

"For the entertainment of His Excellency Hamet Ben Hamet Cardenas, Ambassador from the Emperor of Fez and Morocco," and a not infrequent playgoer, the company put on *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife* (its first production at the Haymarket) on October 28, 1706.⁵ On the 20th of the next month Mills played Leon; Wilks, the Copper Captain; Mrs. Bracegirdle, Estisania; and Mrs. Barry, Margarita. And on February 12 of the new year the same actors were announced with Booth as Don John, and Mrs. Bicknell as Altea.⁶ Finally, Mrs. Oldfield did Estisania on her benefit night, January 8, 1708.⁷

Valentinian was given, November 21, 1706. Betterton was the Aecius; Valentinian was acted by Verbruggen; Maximus by Booth; Lucina by Mrs. Barry.⁸

A harmless adaptation of *Wit without Money* seems to have come out on January 4, 1707, when the play was

¹ Genest, ii, 372.

² Latreille MS.; Burney MS.

³ Burney MS. Pack is not named in the Latreille MS., and Genest gives no cast (ii, 388).

⁴ Latreille MS.

⁵ *Ibid.* But cf. p. 77, above.

⁶ Latreille MS.; cf. Genest, ii, 358, 365.

⁷ Genest, ii, 395.

⁸ *Ibid.*, ii, 358.

announced as "never acted there before," and as "revised with alterations."¹ It was repeated on January 8 and 16, and on May 26. On the last occasion — which was Pack's benefit — the Farquhar-Motteux *Stage Coach* filled out the evening.² The cast given by Genest (Valentine, Wilks; Francisco, Mills; Lovegood, Keen; Lance, Bullock; Shorthose, Norris; Lady Hartwell, Mrs. Oldfield; Isabella, Mrs. Porter)³ corresponds, as far as it goes, with that given at the head of the adaptation, which is described as "now Acted at the Queen's Theatre in the Hay-Market," but is undated. This adds: A Merchant, Mr. Minns; Fountain, Mr. Knap; Bellamore, Mr. Fairbank; Hairbrain, Mr. Bowman; Roger, Mr. Cross; Ralph, Mr. Kent; Humphry, Mr. Trout; and Lucy ("The Widow's Woman"), "Mr[s]. Mills." The Curll *Life of Wilks* (1733) quotes the following, among a number of commendatory notices described as "the Sentiments of the best Judges . . . selected from the *Tatler* and *Spectator*": "Who could behold *Valentine* in *Wit* without *Money*, without the greatest Cheerfulness, the Moment Mr. *Wilks* appeared on the Stage . . . it is the *Human Heart* in all its *odd Variety*, pleasantly represented, that makes up the elegant Entertainment of *Comedy*."⁴ *Wit without Money* was repeated, October 30, 1707.⁵

9. FROM THE OPENING OF 'HER MAJESTY'S ONLY COMPANY OF COMEDIANS' TO THE END OF THE UNION,
JANUARY 15, 1708—JUNE 4, 1709

The full union of the two companies, which had long been talked of and as long put off, was at length accom-

¹ Genest, ii, 362; supplemented from the Latreille MS.

² Latreille MS. Genest was misled by the Burney MS. into giving "May 25," a Sunday, as the date of this performance, ii, 372.

³ Genest, *ibid.*

⁴ Pp. 40, 41. After an extended search through these and other periodicals of the time, I am still unable to say where Curll found the passage.

⁵ Genest, ii, 388.

plished late in 1707. And "Her Majesty's Only Company of Comedians" opened at Drury Lane on January 15, 1708, continuing there for the rest of that season and through the next. Fresh troubles arose, however, and on June 4, 1709, the Drury Lane house was closed by order of the Lord Chamberlain. Betterton, Wilks, and Mrs. Oldfield then headed a new company which opened at the Haymarket, September 15, 1709, while Booth, Powell, and others remained at Drury Lane. That house, after a highly amusing managerial upheaval, was reopened on November 23 of the same year. With Betterton's death, which took place on April 28, 1710, the Restoration Period, in the widest scope of the term, may be said to have come to an end.

Rich's United Patent Company (Her Majesty's Only Company of Comedians) added, in its season and a half of existence, one last item to the list of our authors' plays produced since the Restoration; and continued to act nine others, more or less of the nature of Old Stock Plays.

The Royal Merchant was put on, March 23, 1708, with the cast of the autumn before; no players being named, however, for the parts of Hemskirk and Jacqueline.¹

That persistent melodrama, *The Bloody Brother*, reappeared as "not acted 7 years," December 21, 1708, with Rollo played by Powell, Otto by Booth, Latorch by Keen, Hamond by Thurmond, Cook by Leigh, Pantler by Pack, Yeoman of the Cellar by Norris, Sophia by Mrs. Knight, Edith by Mrs. Bradshaw. To this cast should be added: Aubrey, Cory; Baldwin, Husband; Grandpree, Bickerstaffe; Butler, Fairbank.²

The Chances, which had also been on the retired list and "not acted 5 years," held the boards once more, February 24, 1708, with Wilks as Don John, Mills as Don

¹ Latreille MS.; cf. Genest, ii, 400; and see p. 104, above. Snap is again omitted.

² Latreille MS.; cf. Genest, ii, 410, who followed Burney.

Frederick, Booth as the Duke, Penkethman as Antonio, Bickerstaffe as Petruchio, Norris and Cross as the servants, Mrs. Bradshaw as Petruchio's sister, Mrs. Oldfield as Antonio's mistress.¹ On March 13, 1708, Keen was the Petruchio; Mrs. Powell, the Mother; Mrs. Willis, the Landlady — the rest as before. And the same cast, with minor variations, appeared at repetitions of the comedy, April 23, 1708, October 13, 1708, and February 15, 1709.² Theophilus Cibber, Colley's unlovely offspring, accuses Garrick of farcing Don John, and goes on: "To personate this noble joyous Voluptuary, there should be Comeliness, Grace, a spirited Dignity, and Ease; — he should appear the Rake of Quality; — not a pert Prig, let loose on a Holiday. — In his most unguarded Frolicks, we should not lose Sight of the Nobleman. — In this Light, I am informed, did the Character of *Don John* appear, when the great *Betterton* played it; ³ in this Light have I beheld it, when perform'd by that Master of genteel Comedy, Mr. *Wilks*." ⁴

The Humorous Lieutenant and *The Maid's Tragedy* enjoyed only a representation apiece. The comedy was acted April 11, 1709, for Mrs. Bradshaw's benefit, with Booth as Demetrius, Betterton as Leontius, Powell as the Lieutenant, Cory as Antigonus, Keen as Seleucus, Bullock as Charinthus, Norris as Menippus, Mrs. Bradshaw as Celia, Mr. Pack as Leucippe, and Mrs. Powell as the Governess.⁵ *The Maid's Tragedy* came on January 17, 1708.⁶

¹ Latreille MS.; cf. Genest, ii, 390. On this occasion, Norris was set down for Peter, and Cross for Anthony; on March 13 and April 23, Cross was the Peter and Norris the Anthony.

² Bickerstaffe returned to the part of Petruchio on the first date; Cross is omitted on the second; Leigh appeared as Peter on February 15 (Latreille MS.; cf. Genest, ii, 399, 408, 414).

³ I have found no other reference to Betterton's appearing as Don John.

⁴ *Two Dissertations on the Theatres* [1756], p. 53.

⁵ Latreille MS.; cf. Genest, ii, 417, who followed Burney in omitting Cory.

⁶ Genest, ii, 395.

The Pilgrim was performed, for Pack's benefit, on May 24, 1708. Wilks, Johnson, Cibber, Penkethman, Mrs. Oldfield and Mrs. Moor appeared in the parts they had taken at the Vanbrugh première; Mills was the Roderigo; Keen, the Mad Scholar; and Pack, the Mad Priest. To them were added Bullock as Lopez, Bowen as Jaques, and Norris as the Mad Welshman, at a repetition, March 15, 1709.¹

Rule a Wife and Have a Wife was played on September 21, 1708, with Powell as Leon, Bickerstaffe as Michael Perez, Husband as the Duke, Cory as Don Juan, Leigh as Cacafofo, Mrs. Knight as Margarita, Mrs. Bradshaw as Estisania, Mrs. Moor as Altea, and Mrs. Finch as Clara.² *The Scornful Lady*, described as "not acted for 6 years," reappeared on March 27 of the same year. The cast was: Elder Loveless, Powell; Younger Loveless, Mills; Savil, Dogget; Welford, Booth; Sir Roger, Cibber; Morecraft, Bullock; Scornful Lady, Mrs. Barry; Martha, Mrs. Bradshaw; Widow, Mrs. Moor. This was "the last night of acting before Easter Monday"³ (April 5) when the comedy was again given, the same performers taking part — but this time with Mrs. Willis named as Abigail.⁴ On January 3, 1709 — not January 2, which was a Sunday — Mrs. Knight replaced Mrs. Barry as the Lady, and Johnson replaced the redoubtable Dogget as Savil.⁵

The last of the familiar plays was *The Sea Voyage*, given on June 26, 1708. The *dramatis personæ* shows that D'Urfey's adaptation continued to be preferred to the original. Marine was done by Mills; Du Pier by Johnson; Franville by Bullock; Hazard by Pack; Frugal by Norris; Aminta by Mrs. Bradshaw; Clarinda by Mrs.

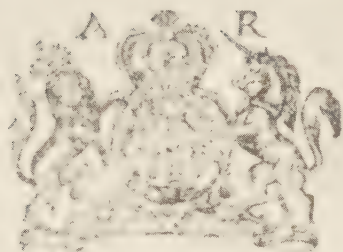
¹ Latreille MS.; Genest, ii, 414, mentions the second performance.

² Latreille MS.; Genest, ii, 407, omits all but Powell.

³ Latreille MS.; cf. Genest, ii, 400, who prefers to read "5 years" for the erroneous "6."

⁴ Latreille MS.

⁵ *Ibid.*; Burney MS.; cf. Genest, ii, 410. The other parts were as before.



For the Benefit of Mr. *PACK*.

By Her Majesty's Company of Comedians.

THEATRE ROYAL
In *DRURY-LANE*.

On *Monday* next, being the
24th Day of *May*, will be
presented,

A Comedy call'd.

PILGRIM.

The Part of the *PILGRIM* to be per-
form'd by Mr. *WILKS*.

And all the other Parts to the best Advantage.

BY HER MAJESTY'S ACTING COMEDIANS.

Porter. Minor characters were: Boldsprite, Cross; Surgeon, Fairbank; Sebastian, Cory; Nicusa, Smith; Menalippe, Mrs. Finch; Julietta, Mrs. Saunders; Hippolita, Mrs. Mills; Ariadne, Mrs. Cox; Aglaura, Miss Norris; Roselia, Mrs. Kent; Clita, Miss Porter.¹ The same cast appeared at repetitions on June 29 and July 6, all three performances being by the reduced "Summer Company."²

The one revival was of *Wit at Several Weapons*, adapted by Cibber under the title of *The Rival Fools*. This was put forward, as "never acted" and "all new written," January 11, 1709,³ with the following cast: Sir Oliver Outwit, Mr. Pinkethman; Young Outwit, Mr. Wilks; Cunningham, Mr. Booth; Sir Gregory Goose, Mr. Bullock; Simple, Mr. Cibber; Sir Threadbare Gentry, Mr. Pack; Priscian, Mr. Keene; Lucinda, Mrs. Oldfield; Mirabel, Mrs. Porter; Governess, Mrs. Willis; Lady Gentry, Mrs. Finch.⁴ John Mottley gives a strange account of the first night: "This Play . . . had very bad Success indeed. I remember there was something in it very ridiculous, of a Man's coming on the Stage with a long Angling-rod going to fish for *Miller's Thumbs*,⁵ which made the Audience afterwards, frequently, when the Author appeared, call out *Miller's Thumbs*."⁶ This anecdote serves to explain the following hit at Colley in *The Female Tatler* of September 16-19, 1709: "I lay aside *Ben* and *Shakespear*, when I but think of his Elaborate

¹ Latreille MS.; cf. Genest, ii, 404, who notes that "this was D'Urfey's alteration, with the original title restored."

² Burney MS. The Latreille MS. gives the last date as "T[uesday July] 5," which is followed by "Th[ursday] 8," "S[aturday] 10," etc.

³ Genest, ii, 411.

⁴ From the printed play; given also by Genest.

⁵ Cf. *Rival Fools*, v, i, 55.

⁶ *A Compleat List of all the English Dramatic Poets*, affixed to Whincop's *Scanderbeg*, 1747, p. 195. An expanded version appears in the various editions of *The Biographia Dramatica*. *The Rival Fools* was entered in the *Term Catalogues* of November 1708-February 1709 (iii, 621).

Piece, vulgarly call'd, *Millers Thumbs*." *The Rival Fools* was repeated January 12, 13, 14, and 24, the third night being "for the advantage of Cibber."¹ Credulous is omitted in the Quarto; but in a list of the actors' names printed in *The Daily Courant* of January 11, "Mr. Norris" appears immediately after "Mr. Cibber."² I suggest that it was he who created the part.

10. FROM THE END OF THE UNION TO THE DEATH OF
BETTERTON, JUNE 4, 1709–APRIL 28, 1710³

During the season of 1709–1710 — the last season here considered — ten of our authors' plays were acted: *Beggars' Bush*, *The Maid in the Mill*, *Sea Voyage*, and *Valentinian*, at Drury Lane; *The Chances*, *Maid's Tragedy*, *Pilgrim*, *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, *The Scornful Lady*, and *Wit without Money*, at the Haymarket.

No Beaumont and Fletcher items are listed at Drury Lane until January 28, 1710, when *Valentinian* was represented, with Hill's *Walking Statue*, for Keen's benefit, Keen himself appearing as Aecius. *Valentinian* was played by Powell, Maximus by Booth, the Eunuch by Miss Santlow ("being her first appearance in boy's clothes"), Lucina by Mrs. Bradshaw. We have "a new Prologue by Keen, and a new Epilogue by Miss Santlow."⁴ The new prologue was printed in *The British Apollo* for February 17–20, 1710, and the "Epilogue by Miss Santlow, in Boys Cloathes, who acted the Part of the *Eunuch* in the same Play," in the next number. It is inconceivable that the actress played either Phidias or Aretus in the Jacobean play. She might have appeared as Lycias; but Fletcher says nothing about Lycias's death, and Miss Santlow's epilogue begins "Tho' just

¹ Latreille MS.; Genest notes that it was "acted but five times."

² "Mr. Keene" follows, then Pack, and the rest in order.

³ See p. 108, above.

⁴ Latreille MS.; cf. Genest, ii, 435.

now kill'd." Rochester's Lycias is killed by Aecius in the last scene of the tragedy. The part, moreover, was a prominent one,¹ and might very well be named in an advertisement to the exclusion of so many others. I am inclined to believe, then, that the performance in question was of Wilmot's version, not the original. On the other hand, in some verses entitled *The Long Vacation, a Satyr Addressed to all Disconsolate Traders*, and dated 1709,² we are told of the desertion of London:

Our tuneful Bards, and Pamphleteers are fled. . . .
 Upon the Stage no new-born Scenes arise,
 No lightnings flash from *Imoinda* Eyes.
 The Bastard's³ Blood not injur'd *Edgar* spills,
 To save a Father, nor a Brother kills:
 Nor yet blind *Gloucester's* sad Intent defeats,
 And his rash Sire with pious Falsehood cheats;
 Near *Elsenore*, nor *Hamlet's* regal Ghost,
 Speaks to his Son on young *Horatio's* Post;
 Themselves, not *Aetius*, or *Lucina* kill,
 The passive Subjects to a Tyrant's Will.⁴

But at Epsom, Powell,

The famous *Roscius* of the Age,
 In tragick Buskins treads the rural Stage.
 The ancient Bards in long lost Plays revive,
 And by their Wit, th' industrious Actors thrive.

¹ Cibber says that, before her appearance in Charles Shadwell's *Fair Quaker of Deal*, February 25, 1710, Miss Santlow "had only been admired as the most excellent Dancer, which perhaps might not a little contribute to the favorable Reception she now met with as an Actress, in this Character which so happily suited her Figure and Capacity" (*Apology*, 1740, p. 347). Genest, having listed her as Miss Prue (December 3, 1709), Rose (December 15), Corinna in *The Confederacy* (December 17), Dorinda in the Dryden-D'Avenant *Tempest* (January 20), and Ophelia (February 14), felt justified in revising Cibber's statement so as to read "*before this season* was only admired," etc. (ii, 436).

² *A Collection of the Best English Poetry*, ii (1717), 7, 8, 10.

³ In Tate's *Lear* Edmund is called simply Bastard.

⁴ Among the other plays mentioned are *Othello*, *Sir Fopling Flutter*, *The Rival Queens*, and, I take it, the recently revived *Jovial Crew*: "No Merry Beggars here their Revels keep."

Each conscious Scene th'am'rous Jilt admires,
 And in her Bosom, feels extinguish'd Fires.
 For some loose Actors brawny Back she burns,
 Is lewd again, and her hot Fit returns.
 Gods! how she praises *Valentinian's* Shape,
 And sighing, wishes chast *Lucina's* Rape.

"Ancient Bards," and the death of Aecius by suicide, both sound like the original play; but neither hint is much to go on.¹ On February 1, 1710, when *Valentinian* was repeated, the same performers appeared, with Leigh as Chylax, Norris as Balbus, Pack as Lycinus, Cory as Pontius, and Elrington as Proculus.² It may be added that in "A Collection of the Most Natural and Sublime Thoughts," in the second part of Edward Bysshe's *Art of English Poetry* (1710), Rochester's *Valentinian* is quoted thirteen times,³ all of our authors' plays together figuring only four times.⁴

The Maid in the Mill was given March 14, 1710, the Latreille Manuscript giving the cast as: Don Philipppo, Bickerstaffe; Otrante, Powell; Antonio, Booth; Martine, Cory; Gerasto, Norris; Pedro, Carnaby; Moncado, Elrington; Julio, Layfield; Vertigo, Cole; Franio, Freeman; Bustopha, Pack; Singing Pedler, Miller; Aminta, Mrs. Moor; Ismenia, Mrs. Cox; Florimel, Miss Santlow. Burney has it that the performance was "for Mr. Burkhead & Mr. Carnaby."⁵ *The Maid* was repeated, March 23, with Pack as Bustopha and Miss Santlow as Florimel, and April 19, with the same two players starring.⁶ *The Royal Merchant* had been put on four days before this last date, for the "Benefit of Lovelace and White the Boxkeepers."

¹ In the alteration Aecius "runs on the Emp. sword and falls. Dies."

² Latreille MS.; Burney MS.

³ Pp. 185, 188, 200, 247, 254, 259, 266, 366, 423 (twice), 448, 478, 479.

⁴ *Rollo* twice, pp. 153, 258, *The Maid's Tragedy* and *The Night Walker* once each, pp. 214 and 478 respectively.

⁵ He gives the full cast only on March 23, but mentions Pack and Miss Santlow on the earlier date. Genest, ii, 437, abridges the list.

⁶ Latreille MS.

Florez was played by Powell; Clause by Keen; Prigg by Norris; Wolfort by Booth; Hubert by Bickerstaffe; and Bertha, by Mrs Bradshaw. There was "a new Prologue by Mrs. Bradshaw . . . two dialogues sung by Pack & others," and, to fill out the evening, Hill's *Walking Statue*, "to be acted before the Play begins."¹ In *The British Apollo* of April 19-21 is printed "The Prologue spoke by Mrs. Bradshaw to the Play called, *The Royal Merchant*, or *Beggars Bush*, Acted for the Benefit of the *Box-Keepers*." It is mainly concerned with the box-keepers, though touching also on the rival company and "their dumb Scenes t'other Night" — more of which presently. *The Sea Voyage*, finally, was performed on April 12, for the benefit of Mrs. Kent and Mrs. Bickerstaffe. Hill's *Walking Statue* completed the bill.²

By the Haymarket Company, meanwhile, had been acted *The Chances*, September 27, 1709, with Wilks, Mills, Penkethman, Mrs. Oldfield, Mrs. Powell, and Mrs. Willis in their usual rôles; Thurmond as the Duke, "Boman" as Petruchio, Bowen as Anthony, Cross as Peter, and Mrs. Porter as the First Constantia.³ On December 5, when the comedy was accompanied by the Farquhar-Motteux *Stage Coach*, the same players were named — without Mrs. Porter, however, and the two servants. Wilks and Mrs. Oldfield reappeared, February 13, 1710 — Cibber's *School Boy* being added for good measure.⁴ Finally, apropos a repetition with Wilks and Nance Oldfield, June 29, 1710,⁵ *The Tatler* called *The Chances* "a true picture of real life . . . wherein Don John and Constantia are acted to the utmost perfection. There need not be a greater instance of the force of action than in many incidents of this play, where indifferent passages,

¹ Latreille MS.; Genest, ii, 438, omits many details.

² Latreille MS.

³ *Ibid.*; cf. Genest, ii, 443.

⁴ Latreille MS.; Genest, ii, 448, mentions the later performance.

⁵ Latreille MS.; cf. Genest, ii, 455.

and such as conduce only to the tacking of the scenes together, are enlivened with such an agreeable gesture and behaviour, as apparently shows what a play might be, though it is not wholly what a play should be.”¹

The Pilgrim — still Vanbrugh’s adaptation — was played October 31, 1709. Genest says that Bowen acted Jacques; Estcourt, the Mad Priest; Dogget, the Mad Welshman; Penkethman, the Mad Taylor: “rest as April 30, 1707.”² But *The Daily Courant* of October 31 gives “Mr. Thurmand” (not Keen) as the Mad Scholar, and adds the names of “Mr. Husband” as the Governor and “Mr. Cross” as Master of the Mad-House. A condemnation of gagging which appeared in *The Tatler*, four days later, may have been called forth by this performance. One of Mr. Bickerstaffe’s acquaintances had expressed “a very becoming indignation against a practice which I myself [Mr. Bickerstaffe] have been very much offended at. ‘There is nothing,’ said he, ‘more ridiculous than for an actor to insert words of his own in the part he is to act, so that it is impossible to see the poet for the player: you will have Pinkethman and Bullock helping out Beaumont and Fletcher.’” *The Daily Courant* records no other play of those authors for some days back, while, from a letter published in *The Spectator* of March 26, 1711, it appears that then, at any rate, considerable liberties were being taken with *The Pilgrim* — one of the madmen (presumably the Englishman) coming on “with a Tub about him, that Tub hung with Quart-pots, with a full Gallon at his Mouth.”³ Repetitions of the comedy

¹ No. 191.

² II, 445. See pp. 105, 106, above.

³ Penkethman and Bullock are again blamed for gagging in *The Spectator* of November 18, 1712. Several theatrical properties for *The Pilgrim*, including “Pomatum and Vermillion to grease the face of the stuttering Cook” are mentioned in the account of the actor Peer with the Drury Lane management, printed by Genest (ii, 519) from *The Guardian* of June 15, 1713.

were announced for February 20, 1710 — "Benefit of Johnson" — and April 11, 1710. On the former occasion Johnson, Wilks, Cibber, Dogget, Penkethman, Thurmand, and Mrs. "Bicknell" (Bignall) are designated for the parts they had filled the autumn before; the other parts (including Alinda) were only "to the best advantage." On April 11 the bill included also *The Stage Coach* "and a comical Masque of Music called Roger's Wedding"¹ — which sounds like part of the *Acis and Galatea* of Peter Motteux.

Rule a Wife and Have a Wife was performed on November 5, 1709, with Wilks as the Copper Captain, Mrs. Oldfield as Estisania, and Mrs. Barry as Margarita. *The Stage Coach* shared a place on the bill.² Wilks and the two great actresses reappeared in Fletcher's comedy on February 25, 1710. Prices were announced as: "Boxes 5s Pit 3s 1st Gall^y 2s Upper Gall^y 1s Boxes on Stage 8s." It was to "begin exactly at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 5."³ Davies, in his *Dramatic Miscellanies*, gives the following amiable description of Wilks and Nance Oldfield:

The comic humour of Wilks was so intimately blended with the elegant manners of the gentleman, that his performance of this part, commonly called the Copper Captain, was esteemed one of his best-represented characters. Mrs. Oldfield's Estisania was an excellent counterpart of comic spirit to the sprightly humour of Wilks. . . . When Oldfield drew the pistol from her pocket, pretending to shoot Perez,⁴ Wilks drew back as if greatly terrified, and, in a tremulous voice, uttered, *What! thy own husband!* Oldfield replied, with an archness of countenance and half-shut eye, *Let mine own husband, then, be in his own wits*, in a tone of voice so exactly in imitation of his, that the theatre was in a tumult of applause.⁵

¹ Latreille MS.

² Genest, ii, 445.

³ Latreille MS.

⁴ V, 4, 25, 33.

⁵ 1784, ii, 406, 407. The description referred to some performance "about half a century since."

The author of *The Laureat, or The Right Side of Colley Cibber*, says that in *Rule a Wife* Mrs. Oldfield "turn'd herself into a roguish wheedling artful Miss."¹

Wit without Money was acted on November 11: "Love-good is omitted: Shorthose = Pinkethman: rest as May 25, 1707."² On February 11, 1710, came *The Scornful Lady* ("never acted there before"), and this was repeated on February 15 and March 18. The cast for the two February performances ran: Elder Loveless, Wilks; Younger Loveless, Mills; Savil, Dogget; Morecraft, Bullock; Sir Roger, Cibber; Poet, Bowen; Scornful Lady, Mrs. Oldfield; Martha, Mrs. Bignall; Abigail, Mrs. Willis.³ Mrs. Oldfield is peculiarly associated with this comedy. In Egerton's *Faithful Memoirs* is the famous story of how Farquhar,

dining one Day at her Aunt's, who kept the Mitre Tavern in St. James's Market . . . heard Miss Nanny reading a Play behind the Bar with so proper an Emphasis, and such agreeable Turns suitable to each Character, that he swore the Girl was cut out for the Stage, to which she had before always expressed an Inclination, being very desirous to try her Fortune that Way. Her Mother, the next Time she saw Captain Vanbrugh, who had a great Respect for the Family, told him what was Captain Farquhar's Advice, upon which he desired to know whether in the Plays she read, her Fancy was most pleased with Tragedy or Comedy. Miss being called in, said Comedy, She having at that Time gone through all *Beaumont* and *Fletcher's* Comedies; and the Play she was reading when Captain Farquhar dined there, was, *The Scornful Lady*.⁴

Through the good offices of Vanbrugh, she was engaged by Rich for the Drury Lane Theatre, where, as we have seen, she made her first success as Alinda in Sir John's version of *The Pilgrim*.⁵

¹ 1740, p. 56.

² Genest, ii, 445; p. 107, and note, above.

³ Latreille MS.; Genest, ii, 448, gives only the performance of February 11.

⁴ See Chetwood, *General History of the Stage*, p. 202, for a somewhat different account.

⁵ See above, pp. 89 ff.

Betterton's last appearance on the English stage — a memorable event in theatrical annals — is thus described by Cibber:

The last Part this great Master of his Profession acted, was *Melantius* in the *Maid's Tragedy*, for his own Benefit; when being suddenly seiz'd by the Gout, he submitted, by extraordinary Applications, to have his Foot so far reliev'd, that he might be able to walk on the Stage, in a Slipper, rather than wholly disappoint his Auditors. He was observ'd that Day, to have exerted a more than ordinary Spirit, and met with suitable Applause; but the unhappy Consequence of tampering with his Distemper was, that it flew into his Head, and kill'd him in three Days, (I think) in the seventy-fourth Year of his Age.¹

Cibber's implication that Betterton died three days after his benefit has led to a good deal of confusion.² The tragedian's death was on April 28,³ and, if we were dependent on the above quotation alone, April 25 might be put forward as the date of the benefit. But there is very strong reason to believe that Cibber's memory played him false, and that the actual date of the benefit was April 13. In the *Tatler* of Saturday, April 8, to Tuesday, April 11, 1710, is this notice: "Mr. Bickerstaffe, in consideration of his ancient friendship and acquaintance with Mr. Betterton, and great esteem for his merit, summons all his disciples, whether dead or living, mad or tame,

¹ *Apology*, 1740, p. 99.

² Joseph Knight (*Dictionary of National Biography*, ii, 438), having placed the *Tatler* quotation which appears on pp. 119, 120, below, a year too early, and used it to date Betterton's benefit of April, 1709, proceeds to give "25 April 1710" for the great actor's second benefit — calling Genest's date "assumably wrong." Bellchambers (corrected by Lowe, *Cibber's Apology*, ii, 354), *The Biographia Dramatica* (1812, i, 38), and Aitken (*Tatler*, iii, 279) give April 25 for the benefit. Doran dates it correctly, April 13, but would have Betterton die "eight and forty hours after" (*Their Majesties' Servants*, 1888, i, 114, 116).

³ *Biographia Britanica*, 1748, p. 779, from "Le Neve's *Monumenta Anglicana*, vol. v; p. 211"; Knight, *Dictionary of National Biography*, ii, 438; Lowe, *Betterton*, p. 182.

Toasts, Smarts, Dappers, Pretty Fellows, Musicians or Scrapers, to make their appearance at the playhouse in the Haymarket on Thursday next; when there will be a play acted for the benefit of the said Mr. Betterton." Genest's account, supported by the Burney and Latreille Manuscripts, reads:

[April] 13. At the desire of several persons of quality — for Bettertons b[enefit] — Maid's Tragedy. Melantius = Betterton: Amintor = Wilks: Calianax = Pinkethman: Evadne = Mrs. Barry: Aspatia is omitted. To which will be added three designs, representing the three principal actions of the play, in imitation of so many great pieces of history painting, where all the real persons concerned in those actions will be placed at proper distance, in different postures peculiar to the passion of each character — in the first advertisement was added — "This has been often performed in the theatres abroad, but never yet attempted on the English stage."¹

One more detail comes from Joseph Warton, who says he had heard from "an old frequenter of the theatre . . . that the last time Betterton appeared on the stage, the curiosity of the public was so much excited, that many spectators got into the playhouse by nine o'clock in the morning, and carried with them provisions for the day."² Presumably the performance began at five-thirty, or six, in the afternoon.

To look back now at the last four seasons.³ Fourteen Beaumont and Fletcher plays, produced since the Restoration, still held the boards. These were: *Beggars'*

¹ II, 449; cf. p. 115, above. Mottley relates that "between the acts was a Chorus after the Manner of the Ancients, representing in Dumb Shew, all that had been done in the Act before (*Compleat List of all the English Dramatic Poets*, p. 177). He dates the benefit vaguely "in the Year 1710."

² *The Works of Alexander Pope*, 1797, vii, 113, note.

³ During the remainder of the spring only a few very familiar Beaumont and Fletcher plays were performed: *The Royal Merchant*, May 2; *The Chances*, May 16 and June 29; *The Pilgrim*, May 18; and *The Sea Voyage*, May 26 (Latreille MS.; cf. Genest, who notes some of these performances, ii, 439, 454, 455).

Bush, *The Bloody Brother*, *Chances*, *Humorous Lieutenant*, *Island Princess*, *King and No King*, *Maid in the Mill*, *Maid's Tragedy*, *Pilgrim*, *Rule a Wife*, *Scornful Lady*, *Sea Voyage*, *Valentinian*, and *Wit without Money*. Only the last named had not been acted in the decade immediately preceding. One play, *Wit at Several Weapons*, enjoyed a Restoration première. Including this last, six of the fifteen were given only in some sort of altered form,¹ two or three more being doubtful.²

During these years almost exactly the same number of Shakespeare's plays had been performed: *Hamlet*, *Henry IV* (Part I), *Henry VIII*, *Julius Cæsar*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, *The Jew of Venice* (Granville's version of *The Merchant*), *Othello*, *Richard III*, *Caius Marius* (Otway's grotesque *rifacimento* of *Romeo and Juliet*), *Taming of the Shrew*, *Tempest*, *Timon of Athens*, and *Troilus and Cressida*³ — fourteen in all. Of these by far the greater number were given in altered versions: indeed, only *Othello*, *Henry VIII*, and perhaps *Julius Cæsar* seem wholly to have escaped modernization.⁴ Few of them were comedies; only three of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays were tragedies. What is of real consequence, however, is that the Shakespearean plays, from having been outnumbered by something like two to one in the years just after the king's return, were by this time on an equal footing. Shakespeare, in other words, had not been crowded out by the new drama; Beaumont and Fletcher were beginning to be.⁵

Of the fifty-one plays with which the present volume is

¹ *The Chances*, *Island Princess*, *Pilgrim*, *Sea Voyage*, *Wit at Several Weapons*, *Wit without Money*.

² *Beggars' Bush*, *Maid in the Mill*, *Valentinian*.

³ Genest, ii, 356-449.

⁴ See Spencer, *Restoration Stage Versions of Shakespeare's Plays* for the various items; *Hamlet* and *Henry IV* had not been greatly harmed.

⁵ It should not be forgotten that we know much more about these last seasons than about those of 1660-1663: in all likelihood a number of plays were then put on of which no record has survived.

concerned, twelve do not seem to have been produced between 1660 and 1710. These were: *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, *The False One*, *Four Plays in One*, *Honest Man's Fortune*, *Laws of Candy*, *Love's Cure*, *Love's Pilgrimage*, *Lovers' Progress*, *Nice Valour*, *Queen of Corinth*, *Thierry and Theodoret*, and *Woman Hater*. The list is fairly creditable to the taste of the times. Yet one cannot easily understand the desuetude of *Thierry and Theodoret* and *The False One*: the former a favorite of Charles Lamb's; the latter, of William Hazlitt's.

On the other hand, thirty-nine plays were produced in the fifty years — surely an exceptional record — and a number of these seem to have enjoyed an almost uninterrupted popularity. The complete list runs thus: *Beggars' Bush*, *The Bloody Brother*, *Bonduca*, *The Captain*, *The Chances*, *The Coxcomb*, *Cupid's Revenge*, *The Custom of the Country*, *The Double Marriage*, *The Elder Brother*, *The Faithful Shepherdess*, *The Humorous Lieutenant*, *The Island Princess*, *A King and No King*, *The Knight of Malta*, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, *The Little French Lawyer*, *The Loyal Subject*, *The Mad Lover*, *The Maid in the Mill*, *The Maid's Tragedy*, *Monsieur Thomas*, *The Night Walker*, *The Noble Gentleman*, *Philaster*, *The Pilgrim*, *The Prophetess*, *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, *The Scornful Lady*, *The Sea Voyage*, *The Spanish Curate*, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, *Valentinian*, *A Wife for a Month*, *The Wild-Goose Chase*, *Wit at Several Weapons*, *Wit without Money*, *The Woman's Prize*, *Women Pleased*. Of these, ten at least, and perhaps eleven, seem to have fared better than their fellows: two tragedies, *The Bloody Brother* and *The Maid's Tragedy*; four tragi-comedies, *A King and No King*, *The Humorous Lieutenant*, *Philaster*, and *The Island Princess*; four comedies, *The Scornful Lady*, *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, *The Chances*, and *Beggars' Bush*. Another comedy, *Wit without Money*, is the possible eleventh item.

Only a few words can be given to each. *The Bloody Brother* and *The Maid's Tragedy* are about even, but the former has somewhat the best of it down to the last decade. Gildon, writing the year after Betterton's death, still refers to *The Maid's Tragedy* as one of "the most celebrated Pieces of the Stage," though "justly condemn'd" by "Mr. Rhimer."¹ That worthy, it may be recalled, had given grudging testimony to the popularity of both plays and had ventured on explanations.² *A King and No King* and *The Humorous Lieutenant* fared quite as well. Bessus and the Lieutenant must have offered rare opportunities to the low comedians, the Lacys and Leighs and Penkethmans, of these years. Both plays are energetic, and, in their kind, excellently written: the one was something of a favorite with Dryden;³ the other, praised and quoted by *The Spectator*.⁴ *Philaster*, after holding its own down to 1695, fell into disuse, and was apparently not again put on until 1711.⁵ I suppose the ladies had at length tired of it.⁶ With these three plays must be classed, strangely enough, that very patent piece of claptrap, *The Island Princess*, which in one shape or another held the boards with extraordinary tenacity. Between its first revival, in 1668, and its last, early in 1708, it seems to have amassed quite as many repetitions as *Philaster*, if not more.

Without much doubt "the excellent Comœdie of *The Scornfull Lady*," to use Aubrey's phrase,⁷ enjoyed a more consistent popularity in this half-century than any other work of our authors. And no explanation of this is needed, I think, by anyone who has read the play with

¹ *Life of Betterton*, pp. 171, 172.

² See pp. 31, 39, above.

³ See the Prologue to *Circe* (Scott-Saintsbury, x, 330); *Essay of Dramatick Poesy* (xv, 326); *Grounds of Criticism in Tragedy*, (vi, 264, 271, 274); *Heads of an Answer to Rymer* (xv, 386).

⁴ January 4, 1712.

⁵ See p. 89, above.

⁶ See p. 40, above.

⁷ *Brief Lives*, ed. Clarke, ii, 317.

Restoration practice in mind. *Rule a Wife* and *The Chances* stood almost as well. But what is unexpected is that the "sylvan and sunshiny" *Beggars' Bush*, romantic in its very essence, a play that Coleridge tells us he could read "from morning to night,"¹ should hold a place only just below.² Finally, but not without hesitation, it has seemed best to name here one more comedy, *Wit without Money*. Less frequently acted than any of the plays hitherto enumerated, it yet stands apart from the rest in that the performances which it did enjoy were not restricted to a single decade, but included several in the early sixties, several more at the end of our period, and two or three, at any rate, in the long stretch between.

To these five comedies later audiences long remained loyal. The anonymous *Memoirs of Robert Wilks* (1732) contain the statement: "Few of the Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher are now either prized or acted; the *Scornful Lady*, and *Wit without Money* are almost the only ones, which at this time of Day are capable of entertaining the Town, and it's possible that now Mr. Wilks is no more, even these may fall into Oblivion."³ Mottley, writing fifteen years later, was more encouraging, saying that *The Chances* "still continued what they call a *Stock-Play*," and that *Rule a Wife* and *The Scornful Lady* were "still acted with Applause."⁴ Davies found in 1784 that "two only at present preserve their rank on the stage, the *Chances* and *Rule a Wife and have a Wife*": adding, "no writers, sure, ever experienced such a reverse of fortune."⁵ Genest wrote to much the same effect in 1832: "for the last 40 or 50 years 2 only of Fletcher's plays have been on the acting list — latterly even the *Chances* has

¹ *Table Talk*, 1835, ii, 119.

² See, however, p. 80, above.

³ P. 23.

⁴ *Compleat List of all the English Dramatic Poets*, pp. 110-112. He adds that *The Pilgrim* had been "reviv'd" and was "still acted with Applause," the last phrase holding good "within these few years" of *The Island Princess*.

⁵ *Dramatick Miscellanies*, ii, 385.

been laid aside.”¹ And Dyce, a decade later, feared that *The Chances* would “never again in any shape ‘revisit the glimpses’ of the lamps”; though *Rule a Wife* “still proves an attractive entertainment on the stage.”²

But to return to our period. Five more comedies, one tragi-comedy, and one tragedy, though less regularly acted than the plays already named, yet enjoyed some measure of popularity through a term of years. These were: *The Loyal Subject*, vehicle for Thomas Betterton in the early sixties, and revived, not unsuccessfully it would seem, in 1705–1706; *The Maid in the Mill*, again often on the boards in the sixties, and twice revived in the last ten years of our period; *The Night Walker*, of which much the same may be said; *The Pilgrim*, only once produced before its revision by Vanbrugh, but very frequently acted thereafter; *The Sea Voyage*, several times seen by Pepys in the late sixties, and reappearing, as adapted by D’Urfey, in 1685, 1702, 1707, 1708, and 1710; *The Spanish Curate*, well liked in the sixties, and still occasionally put on during the next two decades; and finally *Valentinian*, apparently unproduced in the first twenty years or so, but a favorite from the union on. A few other plays — most notably, perhaps, *The Woman’s Prize* — held the stage with some acclaim for a shorter time, then more or less suddenly disappear.

A predilection on the part of Restoration audiences for our authors’ comedies, as against their tragedies and tragi-comedies, is suggested by my records. But mere accident or caprice must sometimes have entered into the selection and subsequent fate of many of these old plays. Otherwise it would be hard to determine why *Monsieur Thomas*, for instance, should not have gained the same public that delighted in *Rule a Wife* and *The Scornful*

¹ VI, 40.

² *Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, vol. 1, pp. lxxv, lxxii; cf. Leigh Hunt, *Beaumont and Fletcher*, pp. xiv, xv.

Lady. Until the somewhat unlikely time when we can see Beaumont and Fletcher on the stage, many such questions must remain unanswerable. Even then, only a critic steeped in the Restoration spirit could speak with authority. One point, nevertheless, does come out with some clearness from the data here collected. And that is that Beaumont and Fletcher were liked essentially, not as poets, not in their occasional ventures into finer work,—their *Faithful Shepherdesses* and *Knights of the Burning Pestles*, their *Bonducas* and *Wild-Goose Chases*,—but rather as very practical playwrights indeed, as expert purveyors of varied and full-bodied entertainment.

PART II

The Alterations and
Adaptations

*In altering Plays, there's an ungrateful Curse:
Some still will say they're altered for the worse.*

—MOTTEUX.

The Alterations and Adaptations

SIR WILLIAM D'AVENANT, *The Rivals*

(*The Two Noble Kinsmen*)

THE still unanswered riddle as to the identity of John Fletcher's collaborator in that very uneven but resplendent play, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, I have thought best to accept as a riddle. As it happens, indeed, some of those scenes which have been most strongly held for Shakespeare were flung aside by his wilful godson, who found no use for the riches of the first and last acts.

D'Avenant's alterations were calculated to impose upon the old play the classical or pseudo-classical unities. That of action is certainly advanced by the omission of the mourning queens,¹ however much one deplors their sacrifice. To the same end, and this time unobjectionably, the under-plot of the Jailor's Daughter is no longer cut adrift after the second act: instead, Celania, its moon-struck protagonist, is taken in tow again and married off to Palamon. With this destiny in store for her, it was necessary, of course, that she should be advanced in the social scale, and we now find her father an estimable and courageous old provost, and Celania herself on familiar terms with the Princess.

As for the subsidiary unities, that of place was approximated as soon as the Theban scenes in the first act were rejected. That of time found partial satisfaction as well. Chaucer's *Knights Tale* had covered a period of

¹ Cf. C. F. Tucker Brooke, *Shakespeare Apocrypha*, p. xlv. References are to his edition (pp. 307-348).

some years, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, one at the least reckoning of weeks.¹ In *The Rivals* such a term was no longer necessary. And in the first scene, which now comes immediately after the defeat of the tyrant, Heraclia (Emelia) and Polynices (Perithous) thus essay to cheer the duke:

Polyn. Think rather Sir, of that Solemnity
Which by th' *Arcadian* Customes is allow'd
In honour of your Birth-day. . . .

Hera. Your happy Birth you shall see Solemniz'd
With greater Splendor by the Tyrant's death:
They are preparing for the Celebration.²

On this birthday occur the rural festivities and the encounter between Palamon and Arcite, while soon after, on the next day perhaps, the play comes to an end. Accordingly, though no exact period is set down, the time of the action was obviously intended to be short — four or five days now sufficing for the whole.³

D'Avenant also aimed, it would seem, at more careful motivation. Some illustrations may be found in the analysis which follows: one of the best comes in the opening scene of the play. Chaucer had explained Arcite's release thus:

Duk Perotheus loved wel Arcite,
And hadde him knowe at Thebes yeer by yere;
And fynally, at requeste and preyere

¹ See especially *Knights Tale*, 175, 604, 992, and the Time-Analysis of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* in Rolfe's edition, p. 264.

² I, 1, p. 6. Polynices again sets the clock in iii, 1 (p. 25), when he tells Theocles (Arcite) after the wrestling,

Who er'e
You are, you are mine; and I'll preferr you
To the Princess Service. This is her Birth-day,
Which you have honour'd, and onely one day
Does intervene betwixt her's and the Prince's.

³ Celania does not intimate that Philander (Palamon) was long confined. In iii, 4, she still speaks as if two days had elapsed since his escape (p. 29; cf. *T. N. K.*, ii, 4; iii, 2, 26).

Of Perotheus, with-oute any raunsoun,
 Duk Theseus him let out of prisoun.¹

The Jacobean writers were content to have the keeper state bare facts:

Prince *Pirithous*
 Obtain'd his liberty; but never more
 Upon his oth and life must he set foote
 Upon this Kingdome.²

In *The Rivals*, Polynices pleads for Theocles (Arcite) as soon as he recognises him, and explains:

This is that *Theocles*, who in reward
 Of what he pleas'd to praise in me as Valour,
 Rescu'd my Life when I was Pris'ner tane
 By his own Troop, and gave me liberty,
 A debt which I will strive to pay.³

And, though unsuccessful on this occasion, he renews his solicitation at the beginning of the second act, when the Duke graciously relents.

There are clear traces in Sir William's play of the then fashionable heroic vein. By the exclusion of the old first and fifth acts love has become the dominant theme — love throughout, and at the end love and honor.⁴ The last-named terms fly back and forth as Arcon (Theseus) tests the honor of the rivals that his niece may decide which of them to choose. Neither hero may excel the other, but at the moment when an utter *impasse* seems unavoidable Celania enters. The Provost urges his daughter's claims on Philander (Palamon):

Pro. Her Reason has to Love a Martyr bin,
 O, let your Pity give it life agen!

¹ Lines 344-348.

² *T. N. K.*, ii, 2, 300-304.

³ I, i, p. 3.

⁴ *Per contra* the chivalrous spirit of the original — which reminds us more of Sidney than of Chaucer — is far less discernible in the Restoration version, where, for instance, the excellent speeches of the young men as they help to arm each other (*T. N. K.*, iii, 6) are not retained.

- Phil.* My heart did first *Heraclia's* captives prove,
 To her, I am oblig'd in bonds of love.
Celania gave my person liberty
 To her by honour I shou'd grateful be,
 I owe myself to both, what shall I doe
 To be to Love, and yet to honour, true? ¹
- Theo.* Cosin, the Princess does her self bestow
 On me, so that whatsoever debt you say,
 You, in affection, still to her may owe,
 You are oblig'd in honour not to pay.
- Phil.* Tis true — she has forsaken me —
- Polyn.* You may
 Without entrenching on your Love defray
 The debt you owe to honour, since you see
 The Princess from the other sets you free. ²

Philander is at length over-persuaded, and the juggling comes to an end.

Three acts of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* were freely drawn upon by D'Avenant. He was not content, however, to take them over as they stood. Sometimes he recast whole speeches; sometimes he merely substituted a word here and there, transposing and rearranging the rest as the spirit moved him.³ In general it may be said that he viewed with suspicion the boldly imaginative style of the earlier writers. There are suggestions of the vague diction, the swaying antitheses, of the new versification. But these things are no further advanced than the heroic elements already mentioned. Only in some of the more important of the added scenes does rhyme replace blank verse;⁴ only in them does rhetoric wholly eclipse poetry.

¹ "Characteristic of the heroic drama is the dispute between two personages of the play or in the mind of one speaker" (*Love and Honour and The Siege of Rhodes*, ed. Tupper, p. xxx).

² V, 2, pp. 55, 56.

³ The curious may be referred to Arcite's long soliloquy which makes up *T. N. K.*, ii, 3, and its counterpart in *The Rivals*, ii, 5, pp. 21 ff.; or better still, to the beginning of *T. N. K.*, iii, 1, *The Rivals*, iii, 3.

⁴ II, 6; iv, 3 (the later part); v, 2.

The first act of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* has all but disappeared.¹ A few scattered phrases from the fourth scene² — to which scene one of *The Rivals* roughly corresponds — have, indeed, survived. Arcon, Prince of Arcadia (Theseus), enters, accompanied by Polynices (Perithous) and "Souldiers as from Victory." They rejoice in the success of their arms, ascribing it, in large measure, to the valor of the Provost. That worthy brings in Theocles (Arcite) and Philander (Palamon) as prisoners, and to his keeping Arcon consigns them, despite the intercession of Polynices in favor of Theocles. Heraclia (Emelia) now enters, to felicitate her uncle. The latter grows sad at the thought that there is no male heir to his throne, and his friends have much ado to cheer him. Scene 2 shows us Philander and Theocles "walking on The Tarras in the Cittadel." Their talk is taken over, with some cuts and some verbal modification, from the beginning of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ii, 2;³ but this time they are overheard by Celania (Jailer's Daughter), who appears with Leucippe, her maid, "as at a Window." Cunopes, "the Provost's man," a low-comedy personage, informs the young knights that they must return to prison, and they go off with him; not, however, before Celania has become palpably affected. Leucippe asks: "Which of the Gentlemen May boast the Conquest?" But she will not tell.

The second act is introduced by a short expository scene in which Polynices and the Provost gain Arcon's consent that Theocles be released. Scene 2 consists of a conversation between Heraclia and Celania. The latter's description of the prisoners borrowed in part from *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ii, 1,⁴ is of such kind as to excite

¹ A comparison of the two plays scene by scene may be found in August Krusenbaum's *Verhältnis von Davenants Drama The Rivals zu The Two Noble Kinsmen*, Halle, 1895.

² From lines 33-36. I, 2, 70, contributes another phrase.

³ Lines 1-120. ⁴ Lines 26-30, 41, 42, 49-54, and 67 were put to use.

Heraclia's suspicion — "She loves him, sure? — I'll try her." A trumped-up story that Philander is to be executed suffices for this purpose, and Celania goes out, vainly trying to hide her concern. Heraclia fancies she has "deceiv'd her into too much fear," but satisfies herself with the idea that "she'll soon find the fallacy." So, thinking no more of the matter,¹ she decides to "take a turn i' th' garden." The third scene, accordingly, after a few lines of introduction, recurs to ii, 2 of the older play at the point where it had been laid aside; and follows it, now word for word, now in running paraphrase, to the end.² Scene 4 begins with a soliloquy by Celania, in part from ii, 4 of the original,³ but recolored to harmonize with the rank and decorum of the speaker. Leucippe enters, and, having consulted with Celania, proceeds to inveigle Cunopes into giving up his keys. We then turn to Theocles (scene 5), for whom Arcite's two soliloquies (in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ii, 3)⁴ have been run together. The act concludes with a new scene (6), between Philander and Celania, as the former, not without qualms of conscience, agrees to be set free:

This gen'rous act is stretch'd to an Extent
Beyond the prospect of all president.
Lead on, what makes her thus obliging prove
I hope 'tis pity, but I fear 'tis Love.⁵

Arcion and his train enter with the garlanded Theocles, at the commencement of the Third Act, the scene which follows representing a free abridgment of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ii, 5. Next we have talk between Leucippe

¹ Thus a moral turn is given to what follows of near-tragedy, though I am not inclined to attach much importance to it.

² There are some excisions — notably of the concluding innuendos in Emelia's talk with her maid. Cunopes towards the end of the scene diverges a good deal from the lines originally assigned the Jailor, but not for the same reason. . . .

³ Lines 1 and 14-18.

⁴ *T. N. K.*, ii, 3, 1-24, 91-95, freely treated.

⁵ P. 23.

and Celania's nurse (scene 2), from which the eavesdropping Cunopes learns to what use his keys have been put. A messenger from the Provost alarms him, and he hurries off to reclaim his prisoner. Scene 3 opens with a version of Arcite's soliloquy from *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, iii, 1 — which scene is then reproduced, with some abridgment and rephrasing.¹ Celania enters (scene 4) and gives us a mangled rendition of the soliloquy of her predecessor in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, iii, 2. Then (scene 5) Theocles returns "with Wine and meat," and we get most of iii, 3,² with an added song for Theocles — once sung, he tells us, by an old mistress of Philander's. Celania reappears for scene 6. Her lines come from *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (iii, 5), but Leucippe and Cunopes now accompany her, the latter greatly concerned for his own neck. Scene 7 introduces "Countrey-men and Women, preparing for the Solemnizing of the King's Birth-day," who are joined by a taborer, and in due time by Celania. A good deal of the dialogue is from *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, iii, 5, but Gerold the schoolmaster has been dispensed with, there is byplay between Cunopes and the countrymen, and Celania no longer goes off with them.³ Finally, scene 8 falls into two divisions. In the first, Arcon and Heraclia try to comfort the Provost, who is grieved at "his dear daughter's loss." The "first Country-man as Master of the Revels" then enters, introduces the morris dance, and promises to provide "a Hunt in Musick." This later part is inspired by *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, iii, 5, but neither is under any verbal obligation.

¹ Philander is not shackled in *The Rivals*, and thus has no need of a file. D'Avenant's version agrees in this respect with *The Knightes Tale*. I may add that the "smell o' the prison" (line 94, and iii, 4, 66) is no longer mentioned.

² Some of the more lifelike touches are gone — for instance, "*Pal*. What is this? *Arc*. Venison. *Pal*. 'Tis a lusty meate" (line 35). "Wenches" in the next line became "ladies."

³ Some of her songs in the mad scenes have been tampered with, others replaced.

The "Hunt in Musick" ¹ — a dialogue in couplets, by hunters, huntresses, and foresters, introduced by jingles from a Poet, and concluded with a dance — opens the fourth act. Arcon and his companions express their approval, and the action of the play is resumed. Celania enters (scene 2) with Leucippe and Cunopes, and we have more of her madness — about half of the lines coming from the later part of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, iv, 1.² Scene 3, finally, harks back to iii, 6, of the original. There is much abridgment, however, and the ending is rewritten in rhymed heroics. Having been persuaded to withdraw his judgment of death on both young men, Arcon calls on Heraclia

To save
One, and condemn the other to the Grave.

The unhappy lady hesitates, then speaks the following lines as the curtain falls:

With riged honour, gentle pitty joyn'd
To plead for those whom he to death design'd,
He thinks I spake from principles of Love,
Now both of e'm I from my thoughts remove.
He told me I by one should be enjoy'd
Which partial Fortune that I may avoyd,
'Ile Equally permit e'm both to dye,
That so I may do neither Injury.³

It rises again on a messenger and the nurse, who inform us that Celania has been got safely home, and that her father has given her a cordial which they hope will "force her to a slumber" (v, 1). This proves to be the case: for

¹ Waldron, editor of the *Roscius Anglicanus* of Downes and himself an adapter of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, noticed that in it D'Avenant borrows "ideas and terms" from Jonson's *Sad Shepherd*. (*Roscius Anglicanus*, 1789, p. 32.) The obligation proves to be real, if not very extensive. See *Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. Gifford-Cunningham, 1875, vi, 252, 259, and *The Rivals*, pp. 37, 38.

² A good many of the indelicacies have been got rid of, presumably because of the lady's new position. On the other hand, Cunopes continues to add something of originality.

³ P. 45.

after still another mad scene, and after singing "My lodging it is on the Cold ground," she at length "lies down and fals a sleep." Her speeches, it may be added, are partly from *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, v, 2, partly from iv, 3.¹ The concluding scene (2) — entirely in rhyme — is D'Avenant's own, with the exception of a line or two from *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, iv, 2.² The much-berated picture scene has given place to a dialogue between Arcon and his niece, as the former vainly endeavors to learn which of her lovers she prefers. He then has them both brought before her, and tests their generosity, slandering each in turn, only to have the other defend his rival. At last Celania enters, restored, as the Provost assures us, to her right wits. Heraclia remembers how she has wronged her, and, choosing Theocles for herself, admonishes the somewhat reluctant Philander to transfer his affections to his deliverer. Cunopes, finally, is rewarded with the hand of Leucippe—and a perfectly happy ending is achieved.

ANON., *The Island Princess, or the Generous Portugal*

"The Alterations and New Additional Scenes" mentioned in the title-page of *The Island Princess* are neither numerous nor, for the most part, of much consequence. Outside a few scenes, indeed, the 1669 version is little more than Fletcher's melodrama somewhat abridged for acting purposes:³ the cuts are skilfully enough made, and the adapter rarely feels called upon to meddle for meddling's sake.

The first scene of Act iii now ends with Piniero's brood-

¹ The beginning of the scene, moreover, runs parallel to the beginning of iv, 1.

² Lines 52-54, paraphrased by Arcon.

³ Some of the broader puns were expunged along with a few unessential verses, e.g., the last few in ii, 1, and some of Piniero's in v, 1. Strangely enough, Armusia's richly exotic description of Tidore at the beginning of i, 3, has kept them company.

ing over the hint which his uncle had given him that Armusia must be "taken off." And thus vanished not only the encounter with Quisana and Panura, but the exciting parley with the Princess which followed. The second omission is important; for thereby the character of the heroine was cleared of a serious blemish or, as it might then have been called, "a sin against manners." And this involved further abridgment. For now that Quisara has no longer any part in the villainous design of Ruy Dias, there is no occasion for her subsequent interview with Piniero,¹ and, accordingly, that too has been cut. Nay, it might be urged that the earlier departure from the original accounts for still another. In the last scene of Act iv, Armusia, in the adaptation, continues to rail against paganism, but no longer curses the "young handsome face" for which he was to abjure his faith. It is conceivable that the missing lines would not have been retained in any case; but such abuse of the reformed Quisara would not have been tolerated for a moment.²

Two scenes, and two only, were rewritten:³ ii, 6, in which the citizens recount their exploits as fire-fighters; and v, 3, in which they discuss the dire effects of the Portuguese bombardment. In the earlier of these, only a few lines are retained, the adventure of the unfortunate Second Citizen being sacrificed altogether, but the additions are lively in themselves, and colored, it would seem, by the Great Fire of two or three years before. Thus we have:

Third [Townsmen]. Neighbour, there were Country Rogues that came in with their Carts, but were as bad Rogues, as the others.

Second. I, for they pretended to come in Charity, but for all that, would not carry a load of Goods under five or ten

¹ IV, 1.

² In this connection it may just be mentioned that Armusia no longer kisses his lady's waiting-woman (iii, 2).

³ Some exit lines were also added, and a prologue and epilogue.



The Island Princes

vol. 6 p. 1001

pound. Damn'd Rogues, the more distress people were in, the more they exacted, and the higher they set their price.

First. A pox on 'em, there is no Rogue, like the country Rogue that goes upon wheels.¹

Pepys had written of "how the streets and the highways are crowded with people running and riding, and getting of carts *at any rate* to fetch away things," and that "Sir W. Batten hath *carts come out of the country* to fetch away his goods."² As for the later scene, it is enough to note that Fletcher's dialogue is expanded, not replaced, and that the additions are again not without spirit.³

NAHUM TATE, *The Island Princess*

The first thing to be said of this exemplary melodrama is that it has nothing to do with Beaumont and Fletcher at first hand. Their names appear, to be sure, and with sufficient deference, in the Epistle Dedicatory. "It had been Presumptuous in me," Tate wrote, "without some Obligation (which I could not well decline) to attempt an Alteration in any Composition of *Beaumont* and *Fletcher*. Those Defects in Manners, that were too palpable through the Work, must be imputed to the Age in which they Wrote; but still there are so many and transcending Beauties in all their Writings, that I judg'd it safest to Rob their Treasure for a Tribute to your Lordship."⁴ Yet it is very doubtful if he had so much as looked at the original; it is certain that his alteration is based throughout on the stage version of 1669.⁵

¹ P. 26.

² *Diary*, ed. Wheatley, v, 397.

³ There is another contemporary allusion. "Do the Canon Bullets think there is no Law?" asks one of the Townsmen. "No, nor Gospel neither," is the reply: "a Canon Bullet makes no more of a Christian, than Mounsieur Montbrun does of a Turk" (p. 69). This was Alexandre du Puy de Montbrun, the brave defender of Candia the preceding year, and now "*capitaine général des armées de terre*" of the Venetian republic. (E. Haag, *La France Protestante*, 1846-1859, iv, 471.)

⁴ Sig. A3 v^o. "Your Lordship" was Henry, Lord Walgrave.

⁵ Even reproducing such obvious corruptions as: "Up with *them*, & to the Boat stand, fast" (ii, 5, five lines from the end; Tate, p. 16); "The flames

In that, as we have seen,¹ the character of the heroine was rendered less censurable by deleting her two interviews with Piniero. "The design of my Authors in this Poem," Tate assures us, "was to shew transcendent Vertue, Piety and Constancy successful."² And with a show of high moral seriousness he set about reforming as purely theatrical a piece of entertainment as could be well imagined. Quisara did not yet satisfy him. At the end of the "big scene" in the third act, the treatment she accorded her two lovers probably seemed to him disingenuous. At any rate, he now makes her dismiss Armusia with this frank avowal of love for another:

My heart was all dispos'd before you claim'd it;
Fancy had got the start of your Deserts,
Which yet I prize so high, that for your Ease,
I force my Modesty on this Confession,
To disengage your hopes: nor let the Man,
That has so highly serv'd, depend
On Fruitless Air.³

It is also worthy of remark that her conversion now immediately follows Armusia's decision to abjure his love rather than his religion; nay, is made directly dependent on that decision.

Greater pains were found necessary in the case of Ruy Diaz. A grave, cautious man, he had seemed over-cautious to his nephew, and a coward, which he certainly was not, to Quisara. Tate felt that the imputation even must be removed. Accordingly, he rejected i, 2, in which the Island Princess had prepared her lover for the public declaration she was about to make. In the next scene Ruy Diaz had gone out speaking as follows:

more, arise still, help, help, Citizens" (ii, 3, four above *Enter Armusia*; Tate, p. 15); "Now, now, *apply* a little force to humble him" (iv, 3, seven from the end; Tate, p. 38).

¹ Pp. 137, 138, above.

² Sig. A2.

³ III, 3, p. 29.

'Tis most dangerous,
And wise men would proceed with care and counsel;
Yet some way wou'd I knew! — Walk with me, Gentlemen.

Tate gives him, instead:

Cousin we must resolve and speedily.
Walk with me, Gentlemen.¹

At the end of the second act, though prodded by Quisara, he had still hesitated. Nahum omits the prodding, and has Ruy Diaz on the point of sailing when Piniero comes with word that they have been forestalled. Thus, in what follows, most of the half-humorous chiding on the nephew's part could be thrown overboard, while Quisara's passionate reproaches have shrunk to a single phrase, or so,

O *Ruidias*,
This might have been your Lot —

and again, "O *Ruidias*."²

The Portuguese captain had also been guilty of suggesting to Piniero that he kill Armusia. Such a state of things was not allowed to continue, and at the end of the bedroom scene Ruy Diaz now tells us:

She cannot doubt my Courage,
This Isle has found it — But *Armusia's* Lawrels
Bear fresher Date — Yet still I hold my Heart,
And must with him dispute the point of Fame.
And when I have o'ercome him in the Field,
His ruin'd Glories mine shall firmer Build.³

So the next scene represents two of Fletcher's run together (iii, 1, in which the "taking off" was bruited, and that part of iv, 2, in which Piniero was asked to carry his uncle's challenge) and the most elaborate of prolusions leads only to the announcement that Diaz would fight with his rival "Man to Man, one Valour to another."

¹ P. 8.

² II, 5, pp. 19, 21. In iii, 3 he is not once reminded of his failure.

³ III, 3, p. 31.

indicate that the scene is now laid beside a shrine "i' th' Palace of the Island," where the Princess has summoned her suitors to appear. The first group are presently joined by Armusia and his ¹ companions, with whom they exchange greetings. Next, and still without any break in the scene, Bakam, Syana, and the Governor appear in state. Their "justling" is retained, then "The Temple opens" ² and Quisara, entering, names the task her successful lover must perform. Moreover, she now "Goes up to the Altar, kneels and kisses it," and calls on the Gods to witness her promise. The scene ³ closes with Armusia's decision to rescue the King, Sforza now protesting, however, that "The Fort's impregnable without a Guard," and "the Generous Portugal" departing in a spirit not unworthy of our movie heroes of to-day. Having thus rejected one scene of the original first act,⁴ and telescoped the other two, Tate brings forward at this point the prison scene (ii, 1), which he follows with some verbal modification only.

The second act opens, accordingly, with the Portuguese safely landed in Ternata; indeed, they have already reached "a Vault under the Castle," where we see them, like Guy Fawkes and his merry men, busying themselves "with powder Barrels, and light Matches." Their dialogue is, of course, modified, not only because of these new conditions but in order to enhance the suggested heroism of the undertaking. To this end Sforza continues to emulate the raven as presager of calamity, and it is he who concludes:

¹ Soza is renamed Sforza. Another personage, Quisana, aunt to the Princess, has been dropped, Panura and Quisara taking over the few lines which might still have been hers.

² Here a new scene, ("Scene two") is marked, though the action is continuous.

³ Among the not infrequent minor changes, Piniero, who as has been noted suffers much at the adapter's hands, is given one new speech perfectly in character; saying of Quisara, "Now could I love her though she's Virtuous" (p. 8).

⁴ I, 2.

My Heart bodes with thy Fate brave Youth;
But we will sell thee dearly.

The scene of the Governor's unpleasant surprise ¹ follows, unchanged, up to Armusia's entrance. Some ten lines of hurly-burly are then thrown out, and we see "Armusia and his Company breaking open a Door" — as in ii, 5 of the original. This scene is retained — minus a word or two ² — and we pass to the citizens and low comedy (scene 4): a strange compound of Fletcher, the adapter of 1669, and Tate himself — the last-named, however, using the shears ³ more often than the pen. Scene 7 of the Jacobean play is dropped as inconsequential; and scene 8, considerably revamped as scene 5, as we have noted,⁴ winds up the act.

The first scene of Act iii is omitted as in the earlier adaptation; and we pass directly to the second scene (now the first). Emanuel and Sforza still urge Armusia to press his demands boldly; but the boisterous vein of the original — which had already been somewhat toned down by Nahum's predecessor — is still further softened. The King's talk with his deliverer is then cut; and after Sforza and Emanuel have left Armusia to his thoughts, Panura appears — to admit the hero to her chamber as readily as of yore. But instead of proceeding at once with the bedroom scene, the future laureate now brings

¹ II, 3, in the older play.

² Armusia's words to the King —

Put your legs forward,
And gather up your courage, like a man;
We'll carry off your head else —

have been shorn of their levity.

³ The retention of a distinctly filthy passage (added in 1669) shows that the abridgment was not made for ethical reasons.

⁴ Note also that it is only with the greatest humility that Armusia now claims his reward (p. 20):

But first to Heav'n, and you I bend,
If either can forgive the high Demand;
It is your Sister, royal Sir; etc.

in iv, 1,¹ — which introduces the Governor in the rôle of Moorish Priest, — thus heightening its effect by anticipation. When we reach it (scene 3),² Quisara begins almost at once on a soliloquy in the pastoral way. She contrasts the happy lot of a shepherdess with her own, concluding, "Oh Fortune! Fatal Virtue! Oh *Ruid[i]as!*" — and Armusia promptly enters. But the new turn given their interview, and the changed attitude of Diaz at the end of the scene, have already been described.³

Something has been said also of the first scene of Act iv. It follows iii, 1, of the old play for a page or so, then iv, 2, up to the place where Piniero regrets that he did not see his uncle's will made. Then, skipping Quisara's recantation, Tate begins a new scene (2) with the last episode in iv, 2, of the original — namely, the Governor's fiery exhortation to the Princess.⁴ Most of the duel scene,⁵ and all of scene 4, remain, but scene 5 — now laid in the Temple — has been reworked. Quisara proposes that her lover abjure his faith as a proof of his constancy to her. Armusia replies, albeit with great deference, that this one thing he cannot do. "If so," says the Princess, "I am free of my vow":

'Twas by these Pow'ers that I was sworn to wed
The King's deliverer; these you blaspheme,
These and their Pow'r you frankly have renounced,
And thereby free me from my Obligation.⁶

Armusia vainly pleads with her, then at last renounces her "Love's rich claim." Quisara instantly yields:

¹ Now iii, 2.

² Panura's lightness had been partly got rid of by the earlier adapter, and nothing is left in the few introductory verses which could be offensive to Nahum's moralized heroine.

³ Pp. 140, 141, above.

⁴ The doggerel exchanges between the priest and Panura, which look like the handiwork of some actor, are quite properly expunged.

⁵ Scene 3, which through carelessness is not marked so in the alteration.

⁶ P. 41.

I resolv'd

To make the outmost Tryal of your Faith,
And in your Faith of you: I know your Doctrine
Is heavenly all, and you have prov'd the practice.

At this point the King enters and joins their hands, but having thus fulfilled the letter of his promise, he immediately orders Armusia's arrest. Quisara, finding her brother obdurate, announces that she too is a Christian. "They must die both," says the Governor, as the King's guards lead them off.¹

The first scene of the last act shows us "A Grove. An Idol, and Altar of Thor, at distance." Moreover, the simple direction "Enter Armusia and Guard" has become "Solemn Musick. Enter a Procession of Priests, as to the Sacrifice. Armusia and Quisara wreath'd, and bound. Guards. Croud following."² With some slight modifications, nevertheless, the scene is still Fletcher's.³ The second scene has one interesting deviation. The Townsmen of the original, though suggesting Londoners, had yet been careful not to remind us that they were also Christians. Those of the 1669 revision had been less wary, and Tate, observing the error, proceeded to rectify it, and even got some merriment out of their "Worm-eaten Gods" and the carpenter who made them. Thus, his last change — for the two closing scenes are taken over about as they stood⁴ — is for once incontestably on the credit side.

¹ From Armusia's renunciation on, the scene has been entirely rewritten except for two or three lines borrowed from v, 2.

² P. 46.

³ V, 2. At the end, the Governor now asks that the execution be left in his hands; to which Tidore replies — with Armusia's "By Heaven I'll rule in this" — that the prisoners

shall not die,
Till I have seen this furious storm allay'd (p. 48).

⁴ The ethical note is sounded at the end, the concluding couplet, for instance, now running:

What ever false and subtile men dare cast,
Just Heav'n on Vertue show'rs rewards at last.

PIERRE MOTTEUX, *The Island Princess*

This atrocious performance follows, in general, the alteration by Tate, just as that had been founded on the anonymous adaptation of 1669. Occasionally, indeed, the translator of *Don Quixote* must be commended for having looked also at the original, whence he reclaimed a portion of Armusia's description of the "blessed islands"¹ and some few lines and phrases more.² But far oftener he retains Tate's innovations, adding others, and worse, of his own. Perhaps he himself felt that some apology was called for. At any rate, he addresses "The Reader" with some candor: "As I found it [*The Island Princess*] not unfit to be made what we here call an Opera, I undertook to revise it, but not as I wou'd have done, had I design'd a correct Play. Let this at once satisfie the Modern Critics, and the Zealous Admirers of Old Plays; for I neither intended to make it regular, nor to keep in all that I lik'd in the Original, but only what I thought fit for my Purpose, and the success has answered my intent, far beyond Expectation."³

In the earlier scenes the outline of the plot and most of the dialogue come directly from Tate, with such modification as occurs to be accounted for by the nature of the *genre* in which Motteux worked.⁴ Indeed, it is only when we reach the big scene at the end of Act iii that we find important deviations. It is still a bedroom scene. "I would speak to her," Armusia says to Panura, who replies:

¹ From i, 3. It forms part of the initial speech in the opera.

² I have noted: one couplet, revised, from i, 1; the Second Citizen's last line from ii, 6; a few words from ii, 7; and another couplet from the end of the duel scene, iv, 3.

³ Sig. A3 v^o.

⁴ One short scene is added, the first in the opera. It is expository in character, and partly from Fletcher, partly original with Motteux. Elsewhere abridgment continues to be the rule.

She's now alone . . .
 Be pleas'd to go with me;
 My Chamber's next to her's.¹

But the indecorousness of Quisara's preparing for bed —

Make me unready . . .
 I'll read awhile before I sleep² —

has been vigilantly removed. And when 'The Island Princess' enters (with Panura and Page) she now says:

Sing me a Song, then leave me — and if *Ruidias*
 Shou'd come and beg admittance, introduce him.
 But stay — will Vertue warrant this admission?
 Surely, for once it may, in such an Exigence —
 We must consult about this turn of Fortune.³

These niceties contrast oddly with the simplicity of the original:

And if Ruy Diaz meet you, and be importunate,
 He may come in.⁴

Note also that Armusia no longer "locks the door." The succeeding dialogue has been almost entirely rewritten. Armusia insists on the purity of his love, but is commanded to go. He consents reluctantly:

Arm. Well, I'll content you,
 And keep my Promise, tho' I lose my Life.
 Despair will make that easy, Joy attend you,
 While I withdraw to die; It should be at your Feet,
 But I will not Prophane this Place, nor cost
 Your heart a sigh, Farewell!

Qui. Stay gen'rous Stranger: your despair alarms me,
 Oh, promise me to live.
 See, see the Pity which I pay your anguish:

¹ III, 1, p. 16. The later scene is headed "The Princesses Apartment."

² In Fletcher she had said,

'Tis late; good aunt, to bed: I am e'en unready;

and a few lines below,

Come, where have you been, wench? Make me unready:
 I slept but ill last night.

³ III, 3, p. 17.

⁴ So also Tate, p. 27.

My grateful Soul suffers no less than yours;
 For 'tis a pain to be so much oblig'd
 And Bankrupt in Returns. It kills my Joy,
 I 'm angry with myself, and torn in two.
 I wou'd recall my heart but Oh! I cannot.¹

The skirmish with Ruy Diaz takes a new turn when Quisara commands him to "forbear," and he refuses. She then turns to Armusia, charging him by his love to

Retire, and entertain no thoughts of Vengeance.

Again he consents — turning to the audience for sympathy —

Weak flesh rebels, but you and Vertue Conquer.
 I go, but judge, Oh judge! ye tender hearts,
 What Pangs, what Racks the wretched Lover tear
 Who to his Rival leaves the darling fair.²

And Quisara comments, aside:

Great Soul, I am asham'd I cannot Love him yet;

then proceeds to scold the jealous Diaz.

An operatic interlude forms the first scene in Act iv, with Armusia, the while, "lying on a bank in a Grove of Orange-Trees. Emanuel by him." The talk between Ruy Diaz and Piniero on the challenge is gone, with all but a few lines of the Governor's schooling of Quisara.³ The duel scene is recolored. Ruy Diaz continues to fight after his mistress has charged him to desist; and her aside, a few lines below, shows us which way the wind blows:

Father, be pacify'd; I 'm working for the best —
 This Jealous Rage and Disobedience cure me.⁴

At the end Armusia and Ruy Diaz agree to be friends, but the latter's gratitude fails him when it comes to resigning his mistress.⁵

¹ P. 19.

² P. 20.

³ IV, 2, of the original.

⁴ P. 23.

⁵ Ruy Diaz shows signs of backsliding in this version. At least, we cannot pardon him for the following verses, addressed to Armusia:

I love the Princess; she hearkens to my suit,
 And though in *Portugal* you claim precedence,
 I'll have it here; here I command the Fort
 And that commands the Town. Be wise, desist. (iii, 3, p. 20.)

The changes in the rest of the play (most of which is rewritten) do not much affect the characters. The Governor excites the Bramins — who have succeeded Fletcher's "Moor Priests"¹ — against the Portuguese. Armusia, as in the preceding versions, steadily refuses to turn pagan, and by his example wins Quisara to Christianity. The King orders his arrest, and he is led off, guarded. But Quisara remains — here the opera differs from Tate — and so works upon her brother's feelings as to terrify the Governor. The latter, realizing that his ascendancy is passing, sends for the Bramins. They address a "solemn Incantation" to the gods, who remain, nevertheless, "sullen and displeased." A "wise Bramin" and "Ancient Seer" then calls upon them, and the Governor at once tells Tidore that they favor the execution of the Christians.

A new scene, at the beginning of the last act, shows us Quisara in prison, reading a pious book. "Armusia in Chains" joins her. Their leave-taking is interrupted by an officer who brings word that they must "appease the Gods, or die." Once more, however, the sacrifice is prevented by the noise of the Portuguese bombardment. Armusia and the Princess are sent back to prison, and the King asks a parley. This takes place, after still another revision of the panicky citizens,² and Tidore, finding that the people are for submission, agrees to the release of the prisoners:

I can no longer what I wish oppose.³

The wicked Governor had not been present, however, and now we get the reason. "The Scene draws and discovers

¹ Tate's "Temple of Thor" (v, 1) has also gone by the board.

² V, 3. The note of exaggeration in this scene and ii, 6 was steadily heightened in the three alterations; and when *The Island Princess* was to be given at Penkethman's Greenwich theatre, August 5, 1710, the advertisement began: "The part of the Tailor out of his wits by Pinkethman. The Drunken Higler by Jubilee Dickey. Loom the Weaver by Leigh. Armusia by Powell"! (Latreille MS.)

³ P. 36.

the Prison — The Governour dragging Quisara by the hair with a Dagger at her breast." Armusia, still in chains, bursts in upon them, but the Governor threatens to kill Quisara if he calls for help. This terrific situation is saved by the appearance of "Ruidias and all the Portuguese. The King with Guards." Ruy Diaz jerks off the Governor's "false Beard and Hair," thereby depriving Piniero of almost the last of his once numerous prerogatives, and all is well. But, for the sake of operatic entertainment, we are afforded a glimpse of those "joys and triumphs" which the King had proposed. "The Scene changes to a Palace," and the King reappears with the other personages. Armusia thanks His Majesty, who replies:

Rise, you 're excus'd from words,
 You must have time to claim the stormy Bliss.
 Then leave awhile this bright Assembly here
 To Mirth and soft delights.
 We 'll ease with Talk our Pangs of Joy within.
 Now spite of Subtle Foes all Danger's past,
 And Heav'n on Virtue shows Rewards at last. [*Exeunt.*]

Then comes "The Four Seasons or Love in every Age. A Musical Interlude."

This, and the other purely operatic passages, need not detain us; for one only, the "Incantation" and "Enthusiastic Song" in iv, 5, serves in any way to advance the action.² Rather let us look at some further examples of the outstanding qualities of this alteration. In sensationalism of action and setting Motteux has fairly outstripped the field. Thus, when Ruy Diaz is preparing to embark at the end of the second act, we now have: "The Scene Changes to the King's Palace in Tidore, thro' which is discovered a Fleet of Ships of War";³ and when

¹ P. 36.

² The others consist of: a pastoral epithalamion, at the end of Act ii; the page's song asked for by Quisara, in iii, 3; and a dialogue sung by a Clown and his Wife, in iv, 1, for the purpose of 'beguiling Armusia's Cares.'

³ II, 5, p. 11.

the King appears, it is "attended with a numerous Train, Trumpets, Kettledrums and Music. Armusia, Soza, Emanuel with him, Bakam and Syana on each side with their Attendants and Guards."¹ Thus again, Armusia and his companions now "fight two Parties of Guards" in the Governor's prison, "who at last fly."² Allusion has already been made to the horrors of the penultimate scene. The following impressive direction stands at the head of Act v:

The Curtain slowly rises to mournful Musick, and discovers a Prison, Quisara lying on the Floor, all in White, reading by the Light of a Lamp; her Women in Black, some, Standing, others Kneeling by her, and Weeping: The Bell Tolls sometime before she speaks,

Qui. How blest is Piety! It cheers my Soul,
Ev'n here, where I'm preparing for my Fate,
Of all but you forsaken! Do not Weep;
You break my Peace of Mind, — Nay then I beg,
I must not now Command, retire a while —

[Ex. Women.]

Grief is Infexious, — Now I think on them,
On my Distress, and poor *Armusia*, Doom'd
For me to fall, I Weep —

[The Bell tolls again.]

Hark! The Bell tolls again! Our Fatal Hour is come.³

For it is, after all, as a maudlin sentimentalist that Motteux is beyond the pale of mercy. Fletcher had concocted a gallimaufry of favorite ingredients, though the result might not be expected to satisfy an epicure. Motteux, finding the recipe old-fashioned, trebled the sugar. Armusia, after rescuing the King, is made to linger at imminent hazard that he may soliloquize thus:

But now let's hence! haste to the Boat,

[They go with the King.]

Then to *Tidore*, there, there is my Reward.

Such a Reward! Oh the thoughts on't transport me.

Possess'd of that I shall think *India* poor.

There is no wealth but she: She's Crowns, and Scepters,

¹ 11, 5, p. 12.

² 11, 3, p. 9.

³ P. 32.

Health, Freedom, Life, the Empire of the Globe;
Nay, more, she 's — she 's the Woman I adore,
And with *Armusia* that outweighs the World.¹

The Huguenot playwright, who had cut speech after speech in the scenes of swashbuckling adventure, lingers² droopingly over the interview between hero and heroine at the end of the third act, or balances the claims of amatory and religious faith with utter contentment. Nay, he makes his imprisoned lovers sigh out the following — with which we may very well leave them:

Arm. But when they Pain you, then my Heart they 'll Tear.

Oh! at the Thought I shake, I bleed, I rave, and I despair.

Qui. I Glory in my Fate; then calm thy mind,
Dear Man; I 've only Tears to pay thy Worth,
But we shall meet in Heav'n at better Nuptials,
There no bad Men shall interrupt our Joys.

Arm. Oh now you 've rais'd my Soul from one Extream to t'other.
I dare Rejoice ev'n here.

[Enter Officer.

Officer. I 'm bid to tell you, You must now attend
T'appease our Gods, or Dye. 'Tis the last Summons.

Qui. We come.

Arm. To Dye.

Qui. To Triumph.

Arm. Yes, my Bride.

But, sure I first may claim a Chaste Endearment
Due to a Bridegroom, and a Dying Friend.

Yes, blushing Saint, and thus I seize the Blessing, —

[Kisses her.

¹ II, 3, pp. 9, 10.

² With such love-and-honor gewgaws as:

Arm. Forced to quit

My Heav'n above or Paradice on Earth.

How well I Love, how much I prize your Charms

My Life must show, but Honour [,] Conscience, Heaven

I never must forego. Must I then lose you or myself?

Can you persist? Must I be torn from you? I must —

Yet once more let me gaze — O now I cannot go.

Dreadful strife! Cruel Struggle.

I must not look, nor leave her. (iv, 5, pp. 24, 25).

The same out-worn *motive* is worked out anew in the King of Tidore, whose conflicting emotions are only now fully exploited (see iv, 5; v, 2).

My soul is on the Wing to mix with Thine;
 Another Kiss, and they'd for ever joyn.
 Oh! since below we taste such Sweets in Love
 How great, how vast must be our Joys above.¹

THOMAS BETTERTON, *The Prophetess*

This singular "tragical history," the joint composition of Massinger and Fletcher and not particularly to the credit of either, was revived, as we have seen, "with Alterations and Additions after the Manner of an Opera."² To the excellence of Purcell's music and the spectacular nature of the staging must be attributed its success. And, indeed, one may imagine that even back in 1622, when the old play was first produced, mouths gaped with wonder when Delphia and Drusilla appeared "in a Throne drawn by Dragons";³ while, although Purcell was not yet born and the opera, as such, was unknown in England, it is certain that much music then adorned it and many dances.

Betterton's part as reviser was to bring these elements to the front, and it is something that he did this without altogether losing sight of the occasional excellences of his original. The songs are introduced with some regard to dramatic propriety. Thus, at the end of the second act, when Diocles has killed Aper, Delphia gives the command, "Strike Musick from the Spheres," and we have "A Symphony of Musick in the Air," followed by two triumphal songs. A few lines below, "While they Invest him with the Imperial Robes," Diocles is once more hailed in a "Martial Song";⁴ a "Symphony of Flutes in

¹ V, I, pp. 32, 33.

² P. 69, above.

³ II, 3.

⁴ Yet Gildon complains: "Sometimes a Song or a Dance may be admitted into a Play without offending our Reason . . . but always with regard to the *Scene*; for by no means must it be made a business independent of that: In this particular our *Operas* are highly criminal, the Musick in 'em is for the most part an absurd Impertinence: for instance, How ridiculous is it in that *Scene* in the *Prophetess*, where the great Action of the *Drama* stops, and the

the Air" follows, then another gratulatory piece.¹ Thus again, Maximinian, in the next act, is instructed to "prepare some music, and then show himself."² Accordingly, on entering he "stands gazing on the Princess all the time of the Song, 'What shall I do to shew how much I love her.'"³ Later, the victorious return of Dioclesian from the Persian wars is greeted with an "Air and Chorus, 'Sound, *Fame* thy Brazen Trumpet sound.'"⁴ And in the last act, Delphia's contrivance to entertain the guests of her *protégé* is an elaborate masque, not without allusions to his marriage and retirement from the turmoil of the world.

As for the spectacular, it reaches a climax in the same masque — the stage directions requiring "Four several Stages, representing the Pallaces of two Gods, and two Goddesses" — but is abundantly vouched for elsewhere. Attention may be called, in particular, to a new device of Delphia's to prevent her servant's marriage. "Thunder and Lightning" had once sufficed. Now however: "Enter a Flamen. Thunder and Lightning. The Stage is darkened on a sudden. A dreadful Monster comes from the further end of the Scenes, and moves slowly forward." And a moment later: "The Musick flourish. They who made the Monster separate in an instant, and fall into a Figure, ready to begin a Dance."⁵ The reviser even felt impelled to expand iv, 1, that his carpenters might have another inning. Delphia still accepts the submission of Dioclesian, but is now careful to show him what might have been had he remained obdurate: "She waves her Wand thrice. Soft Music is heard. Then the Curtain

chief Officers of the Army stand still with their Swords drawn to hear a Fellow Sing — *Let the Soldiers rejoice* — 'faith in my mind 'tis as unreasonable as if a man shou'd call for a Pipe of Tobacco just when the Priest and his Bride are waiting for him at the Altar (*Comparison between the Two Stages*, p. 50).

¹ II, 3, pp. 20-23.

² III, 1, p. 28.

³ III, 4, p. 37.

⁴ IV, 5, pp. 53, 54.

⁵ II, 3, p. 26.

rises, and shews a stately Tomb: Aurelia lying in the midst of it on a Bed of State." Dioclesian at her direction "views it nearer," and exclaims:

Ha! 'Tis the true
The real living Princess.

But the prophetess replies:

You are deceiv'd, it is Illusion all.

Then she "stamps, and it vanishes: behind it is seen a large Cupola, supported by Termes and Pedestals. The Prophetess waves her Wand, the Termes leap from the Pedestalls, the Building falls, and the Termes and Cupola are turned into a Dance of Butterflies."¹

The outline of the old play is retained. Betterton wisely replaced the chorus and accompanying dumb show, which had ushered in Act iv, with a short expository dialogue between Delphia and Drusilla. He omitted the chorus at the beginning of Act v altogether. On the other hand, he took over the first act and most of the second, practically word for word.² A slight rearrangement occurs at the beginning of the third. The latter part of scene 1 — Dioclesian's scorning of his benefactress — is put over to form a scene by itself,³ being replaced by some of the opening dialogue from scene 2. Thereby was the expectancy of the audience aroused, and Geta presumably sat in judgment with greater *éclat* than heretofore. This later scene,⁴ moreover, receives a new ending. Delphia summons her spirits: "The Figures come out of the Hangings and Dance: And Figures

¹ IV, 1, 46, 47. Mr. Allardyce Nicoll in his article on *Scenery in Restoration Theatres* (*Anglia*, 1920, xliv, 223) quotes some of these directions as instances of the "numerous improvements" made by Betterton in "machinery" (see also the same writer's *History of Restoration Drama*, pp. 48, 49). He contrasts the "merely painted back-scenes" of *The Island Princess*. (See the cut, p. 138, above.)

² I, 1 and i, 2 were transposed, while, as we have seen, ii, 3 underwent operatic elaboration.

³ III, 2, in the opera.

⁴ III, 3, in the opera.

exactly the same appear in their places.¹ When they have danc'd a while, they go to sit in the Chairs, they slip from 'em, and after joyn in the Dance with 'em."² Also, the "pretty brown devil" of the original gives place to a certain Hurricania, from whom Geta flees at first sight.³

In connection with this opera, it is convenient to say something of a matter even more interesting, perhaps, than that of scenic investiture. Verbal emendation, though carried on in all the Restoration stage versions we have been considering, is especially conspicuous in this. The very fact that so much of the original dialogue was retained unaltered makes those changes which do occur stand out in sharper relief.⁴ Moreover, Betterton's position as a busy actor already past middle life, contrasts with that of the ordinary cobbler of old plays. One might guess that a man so situated would not be apt to go in for mere fastidiousness. At any rate, when we see him stopping to strike out three or four words in a scene otherwise taken over exactly as it stood, it is worth while to observe what those words are. So doing, we find the general replacing the specific — the vague, the vivid. Or we find the figurative giving place to the literal — the imaginative to the rational. In the background may be felt, throughout, the contemporary ideal of decorum — in the present instance an understandable ideal, once the nature of the subject is recalled. Some representative passages follow.⁵ Fletcher and Massinger wrote:

¹ The scene is described as "a Room, Chairs in it; the Hangings and Figures Grotesk" (p. 27). Can it be that Betterton, or Priest (the contriver of the dances), had the effrontery to anticipate that celebrated invention of our day, the living curtain? ² III, 3, p. 36.

³ Delphia, it may be added, takes pains to explain at the end of this scene what is to happen in the next — an eminently practical procedure.

⁴ In addition to the first two acts, much of the fourth (especially scenes 3 and 4) came over all but *verbatim*, while what reformation took place elsewhere was anything but radical.

⁵ The italics are of course mine.

Dio[clesian]. I am so confident —

Max[iminian]. Faith, so am I too,
That I shall make her *devil's* sides hum (i, 3).

Betterton:

Dio. I am so confident.

Max. Faith, so am I,
That I shall make her *old* sides hum (p. 9).

Fletcher and Massinger:

Drus[illa]. Yes; you have blown his swoln pride to that vastness
As he believes *the earth is in his fathom* (ii, 1).

Betterton:

Drus. Yes, you have blown his Pride to such a vastness,
He thinks *the Empire of the Earth too little* (p. 13).

Fletcher and Massinger:

Max[iminian]. Only the *hangman* of Volusius Aper (iii, 1).

Betterton:

Max. Only the *Executioner* of Aper (p. 27).

Fletcher and Massinger:

Aur[elia]. What man is this? — Away! — what saucy fellow?
Dare any such base *groom* press to salute me? (iii, 3).

Betterton:

Aur. What Man is this? Away; What saucy Fellow?
How came this base mean *Creaturer* to my Presence?
(p. 39)

Fletcher and Massinger:

Max[iminian]. I sought no kisses; nor I had no reason
To *kick* the princess from me (iii, 3).

Betterton:

Max. I sought her not, nor had I any reason
To *thrust* a Princess from me (p. 40).

Fletcher and Massinger:

Dio[clesian]. Poor and low states,
Though they know wants and hungers, know not
these
Know not these killing fates: little contents them,
And with that little *they live kings* (iii, 3).

Betterton:

Dio. Poor humble Beings
Tho' they know Want and Hunger, know not these,
Know not these killing Fates: A little serves 'em,
And with that little *they're content* (p. 40).

Fletcher and Massinger:

First Guard. Do but lead us on
With that invincible and undaunted courage
Which waited bravely on you, when you appear'd
The minion of Conquest, married rather
To glorious Victory, and we will *drag*
(Though all *the enemies of life* conspire
Against our undertakings) the proud Persian
Out of his strongest hold (iv, 1).

Betterton:

1 Gu. Do but lead us on,
With that invincible and undaunted Courage
Which waited bravely on you, when you appear'd
The Son of Conquest; you shall see us *force*
(Tho' all *the Enemies of the East* conspire
Against your Undertakings) the proud Persian
Out of his strongest Hold (p. 44).

Fletcher and Massinger:

Max. Would it were come
To my turn to put it¹ on. I'd run the hazard.
Dio. No; I will not be *pluck'd out by the ears*
Out of this glorious castle (iv, 5).

Betterton:

Max. Would it were
My turn to put it on, I'd hazard that.
Dio. No, I'll not be *forc'd*²
Out of this glorious Castle (p. 55).

Fletcher and Massinger:

Dio. Nephew, I have noted
That you have long with *sore* eyes look'd upon
My flourishing fortune (iv, 5).

¹ *Viz.*, that 'Alcides shirt,' glory.

² In this case the reviser preferred to substitute a hemistich (and one none too regular in itself) rather than to keep the objectionable phrase.

Betterton:

Dio. Nephew, I have noted,
That you have long, with *envious* Eyes, lookt on
My flourishing Fortune (p. 56).

Fletcher and Massinger:

Max. — better to have liv'd
Poor and obscure, and never *scal'd* the top
Of *hilly* empire, than to *die with fear*
To be thrown headlong down (v, 1).

Betterton:

Max. I had better liv'd
Poor and obscure, and never *reach'd* the Top
Of *this great* Empire, than *be in daily danger*
To be thrown headlong down (p. 57).

Fletcher and Massinger:

Car[inus]. But recall your grant,
And speedily; or, by the Roman [gods],
Thou *trippst thine own heels up*, and hast no part
In Rome or in the empire (v, 1).

Betterton:

Car. But recal your Grant,
And speedily; or by the Roman Gods,
It quickly shall be try'd who has most Power
In Rome, and in the Empire (p. 59).

Fletcher and Massinger:

Max. For, whilst you are remember'd, I am *buried* (v, 3).

Betterton:

Max. For whilst you are remembred, I am *despis'd* (p. 65).¹

GEORGE POWELL'S (?) *Bonduca*

In the tragedy of *Bonduca*, Fletcher had achieved a unity of effect not usual with him even in his better work. A long flourish of trumpets best expresses it — a little discordant at times, but true martial music none the less,

¹ That Betterton used the Second Folio text is shown by his rendering of vol. v, p. 322, line 23 (Cambridge ed.); 380, 1; and his inclusion of 339, 34, and 342, 29, which are not in the First Folio.

stirring and sonorous. Only this play, indeed (and of course *The Faithful Shepherdess*) can be said to explain Lowell's non-juring (if not heretical) view, that, of the two dramatists whose work we are considering, Fletcher was "the more poet."¹

Precious little poetry, and no unity of effect, remained after the revision of the play by Powell's hasty friend. With some discretion, to be sure, he chose to strike out the love of Junius for Bonduca's younger daughter; his betrayal by her, and rescue by Caratach; his subsequent revenge upon the mocking Petillius. The young soldier's mistress is now a vaguely mentioned "Grecian Beauty," and his "killing griefs" come to an abrupt end, with Junius himself, on the field of battle. That the objectionable feature in this episode was the savagery of the British princesses, is made plain by another change: Nennius (and not they) torments the Roman stragglers, early in the play. The elder daughter, indeed, is the heroine of a new — and wretched — sub-plot; the younger has a whole scene to herself, that she may troll a tender song, and thereby:

resemble now the Swan
That Sings before its Death.²

Both, in other words, have become victims of the same sentimentalizing vein we have noted before.³

What is worse, those portions of the play which concern Penius have also been repudiated. There was a certain fine austerity about these — again unusual with Fletcher — which a classical age might be expected to

¹ "In . . . the plays . . . written by him alone after Beaumont's death . . . I find a higher and graver poetic quality, and I think a ripper grain of sentiment, than in any of the others. . . . In short, I am inclined to think that Fletcher was the more poet of the two" (*The Old English Dramatists*, 1894, pp. 101, 102).

² P. 44.

³ It may be mentioned, in passing, that the allusions to their having been ravished by the Romans are carefully expunged.

appreciate, and their loss will scarcely admit of extenuation. Nay, this in its turn has led to trouble elsewhere. The long battle scene at the end of the third act had been held together, and given an added emotional significance, by the presence of Penius. Without him, it has lost not only color ¹ but coherence.

Powell's dedication describes the new *Bonduca* as "a Fabrick of Antiquity, a Foundation of that Celebrated Poetical Architect, the Famous *Fletcher*: But with several Alterations, besides the two First Acts New Writ." This last clause is entirely misleading. The play begins with a brief expository dialogue between Nennius and a captain. Caratach, Bonduca, and the other British leaders — "the Women in an Amazon dress" — then come on, and we have the first scene of the Jacobean play with some verbal discrepancy only. Venutius (the hero of the new sub-plot) enters in time to be commended by Caratach — who then leaves the stage to Claudia ² and him. Their rapturous love scene (they are to be married after the war) is a little marred by Claudia's fear of "that Royal Pict," Comes —

That Fiend still troubles all my soften hours,
And haunts me with his sawcy Brutal Passion.³

And even as they talk of him he "peeps" at them. Venutius, having reassured Claudia, takes leave of her. "Enter Comes and meets Claudia as she's going out." He courts her eagerly, but she has nothing but abuse in return, calling him a "Botch of Nature" and "Snuff of Life," and reminding him that on a certain occasion he had been scorned by "a Prostitute to all beside," a

¹ Much of the best poetry had been his — and perished with him.

² Bonduca's elder daughter; the younger is called Bonvica. Venutius and Comes are the only added characters, the latter appearing among the *dramatis personae* as "Macquaire." Judas and Macer have been combined under the latter's name; Penius and his subordinates have vanished.

³ P. 7.

"common Jilt" whom at last he found it necessary to force,

And in the very Stews commit a Rape.¹

Finally, she leaves him to dire reflections upon lust.

The second act again opens with ² exposition, this time from Petillius and Decius. With the entrance of Junius, however, the adapter recurs to i, 2, of the old play, which he follows, with divergences already noted, up to the departure of the stragglers. Suetonius then appears for a parley with Caratach. The latter refuses his offer of peace, and, after an exchange of compliments and an embrace, "the generous soldiers" part company, Suetonius being left with Petillius to discuss the coming battle.³ A short second scene shows us Macer and his companions foraging busily. Presently ⁴ they fall in with a party of "Britains," are pursued across the stage, and are brought back prisoners, Macer addressing the audience "in a lamentable Bellman's tone" as the curtain falls:

O all ye Mortals that are wise,
Abstain from fasting, I advise.
'T was fasting brought these honest Fellows,
And Corporal *Macer*, to the Gallows.

Nennius badgers, and Caratach dines them in iii, 1, which is founded—with innovations already described—on the old ii, 3. An invocation by Druids is inserted at the beginning of scene 2, which then proceeds about as its prototype (iii, 1) had done.⁵ Comes and Venutius remain on the stage after the others have gone, but their stormy colloquy leads only to an agreement that in the coming battle each shall fight his best—for Claudia. Some twenty lines from the end of the original iii, 2, are retained

¹ P. 9.

² A line or two come from Fletcher, ii, 2.

³ At this point a few more verses are borrowed from i, 2.

⁴ A catch, "Jack, thou'rt a Toper," is introduced for them.

⁵ An additional song, "To Arms, to Arms," decorates it, and an Oracle twice replies to the suppliants.

as scene 3 of the alteration, the rest — and notably the magnificent passage on fame — being flung aside. The talk of Caratach and Nennius (iii, 3, of the older play) comes next (as scene 4), practically word for word as Fletcher wrote it, but the long fifth scene, one of the outstanding battle pieces in English dramatic literature, has been sadly mutilated, only scraps of it remaining.¹

Act iv brings us back to Venutius and Claudia, whose expressions of mutual approbation are presently interrupted by the villainous Pict: "His Looks wear Horror, and his Thoughts Destruction." ² He gloats over the discomfiture of Venutius, whom he unjustly accuses of cowardice. Claudia again reviles him, then departs with her lover to join Bonduca at the fort; whereupon Comes, in soliloquy, threatens the pair. Fletcher's second scene is taken over with some slight variations in language only.³

The last act opens with "Comes dragging in Claudia." Venutius arrives in the nick of time and kills the villain, who curses him with his latest breath:

Mayst thou still Love, and be like me Rewarded.
Death, Horror, and Despair! Where am I now?

Claudia hails her victorious lover:

Ha! But he bleeds! O all ye Gods! He bleeds.⁴

And Venutius expires in her arms. Nennius and soldiers enter, at this juncture, on their way to the fort, and the heart-broken Claudia joins them. Scene 2 was probably intended to give the audience lyrical relief. Bonvica bewails the ill fortune of her family. She sends her maid for a personage named Lucius, who seems to be her music master, and sings to the accompaniment of his lute. A messenger then brings word that she is expected on the

¹ The disappearance of Penius from the balcony is largely to blame for its deterioration; cuts and verbal changes have done the rest.

² P. 36.

³ Hengo's part has suffered revision, in most cases for the worse.

⁴ P. 42.

walls. There (scene 3) Bonduca urges her children to fall bravely. Suetonius and the Romans appear, and the scene proceeds substantially like v, 3, of the earlier play,¹ except that at the end the Roman general sends out some troops after Caratach, while he himself remains for the funeral of Junius.² The final scene falls into three parts. The first, which shows us Caratach and Hengo on the rock, is from the beginning of v, 1. Next, Macer and the soldiers set the trap (as in v, 3); but what had been Caratach's last speech is now followed, without break, by the opening lines of scene 5. But Caratach now refuses the generous offer of Suetonius. "I wear a British Soul," he cries, and kills himself to avoid capture. Suetonius then closes, eulogizing the dead hero in the same words spoken, in the older tragedy,³ by Caratach over the body of Penius.

ROCHESTER'S *Valentinian*

At the head of the first edition of *Valentinian* stands a preface, by one Robert Wolseley,⁴ in which we are assured that "Lord *Rochester* intended to have alter'd and corrected this Play much more than it is, before it had come abroad, and to have mended not only those Scenes of *Fletcher*, which remain, but his own too, and the Model of the Plot it self." Indulgence might be asked for it as "an unfinish'd Piece. . . . And yet as Imperfect as *Valentinian* is left . . . my Lord has made it a Play, which he did not find it, the chief business of it (as *Fletcher* contriv'd it) ending with the *Fourth* Act, and a new Design, which has no kind of relation to the other, [being] introduc'd in the *Fifth*, contrary to a Fundamen-

¹ There are some cuts, and in one or two places the language is softened.

² A line or two come, at this point, from Fletcher's v, 3. The death of Junius had been alluded to in iii, 5, of the opera.

³ V, 1.

⁴ See Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, 1908, vol. i, p. lxxxiv, note.

tal Rule of the Stage." Besides imparting "that necessary Beauty of a Pl[a]y, the Unity of Action . . . [Rochester,] suiting of his Style to that of *Fletcher*¹ . . . that the Play might look more of a Piece . . . match'd him in his Fancy, which was his chief Excellence," and fairly outdid him in other points. And why? "My Lord's constant living at Court, and the Conversation of Persons of Quality,² to which from his greenest Youth both his Birth and his Choice had accustom'd him, gave him some great Advantages above this so much and so justly applauded Author, I mean, a nicer knowledge both of Men and Manners, an Air of good Breeding, and a Gentleman-like easiness in all he writ, to which *Fletcher's* obscure Education, and the mean Company he kept,³ had made him wholly a Stranger. . . . Tho' *Fletcher* might be allowed some Preference in the skill of a Play-Wright, (a thing my Lord had not much study'd) in the contrivance and working up of a passionate Scene."⁴

There follow three prologues: (1) "spoken by Mrs. Cook, the first Day, Written by Mrs. Behn"; (2) "spoken by Mrs. Cook, the second Day"; (3) "intended for *Valentinian*, to be spoken by Mrs. Barrey." The tone of all three is the same — one of defiant assurance of success, and consequent railing, now at the fops and fools, once

¹ Yet the Earl sometimes lapses into couplets and on one occasion into stanzas.

² Dryden had written:

"Our ladies and our men now speak more wit
In conversation, than those poets writ."

(*Epilogue to The Second Part of the Conquest of Granada*, 1672; and see *The Defence of the Epilogue*, Scott-Saintsbury, iv, 224, 239.)

³ *Viz.*, Will Shakespeare, *et al.* . . . Anthony à Wood is to be honored for calling attention to the "too many things, and high-flown surfeiting encomiums" of this preface (*Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, iii, 1231). For commendatory verses "To Mr. *Wolseley* on his Preface to *Valentinian*" — apparently by Wilmot's niece — and an effusive answer by Wolseley "to the foregoing Copy," see Mrs. Behn's *Lycidus: or The Lover in Fashion* . . . together with a *Miscellany of New Poems by Several Hands*, 1688, pp. 95 ff.

⁴ Sig. A2.

lashed by Rochester's satire, now at the "wou'd-be-Criticks," helpless before such a masterpiece:

Fam'd and substantial Authors give this Treat,
And 't will be solemn, Noble all and Great,
Wit, sacred Wit, is all the bus'ness here,
Great *Fletcher*, and the Greater *Rochester*.
Now name the hardy Man one fault dares find,
In the vast Work of two such Heroes joyn'd.¹

The nobler adapter has made sweeping changes. His version ends with the death of the imperial protagonist, which in the original took place just after the opening of the fifth act. Three scenes,² furthermore,—all occurring after the rape,—have no counterpart in the alteration; while two scenes³ with parts of several others are added, and two more,⁴ including that of Valentinian's death, are entirely rewritten.

Whatever we may think of the details, these revisions certainly tend to impart unity of action to a loose and somewhat amorphous play. Wolseley was very right indeed on this point. His friend essayed also to heighten the "heart interest" (if it may be called such), and, remembering the tastes of his audience, added lyrical or operatic touches of his own.

As for characterization, Valentinian and Lucina seem to have interested him most. Maximus, who, as Mr. Saintsbury notes, is very indistinctly drawn,⁵ has been made a little more intelligible by the omission of some of the scenes in which he figured.⁶ Aecius is about as

¹ From the first prologue, sig. C2.

² III, 2, 3; iv, 2. ³ II, 2; v, 1.

⁴ II, 3; v, 5, of the alteration.

⁵ *History of Elizabethan Literature*, p. 263. John Addington Symonds has made much of Fletcher's failure in drawing Maximus (see his admirable critique of *Valentinian*, *In the Key of Blue*, pp. 235-240).

⁶ Rochester chose to leave out Maximus' advice to Lucina to kill herself, and allowed him to escape responsibility for the death of Aecius. Maximus tortures Valentinian with the news that Aecius was faithful, but leaves the execution of the tyrant to Aretus.

Fletcher left him, but preaches divine right in even stronger terms. Eudoxia is omitted, Lycias appearing in her place just before the Emperor's death, and coming in for far more attention than Fletcher saw fit to give him. Pontius, on the other hand, and the minor figures, except Proculus, are treated with much less favor, and three of them (Afranius, Paulus, and Licippus) have been dispensed with altogether, along with the events in which they were involved.

Valentinian himself has been developed along several lines. As a lover, for instance, he soars. Thus, in the first act he tells the pandars:

Before my Dazled Eyes cou'd you now place
A thousand willing Beauties to allure
And give me Lust for ev'ry loose Embrace,
Lucina's Love my Virtue would secure,
From the contagious Charm in vain I fly,
'T has seiz'd upon my Heart, and may defie
That great Preservative Variety.¹

Without her he finds "Life a base Slavery, Empire but a Mock," and would give Maximus the guidance of the world, seeking his "Peace, and Joy, and Love and Heav'n" only in Lucina's eyes. Nay, he would if possible "possess her chaste and uncorrupted,"² and only later discovers that

Force

Of all the Powers is the most generous;
For what that gives, it freely does bestow,
Without the after-Bribe of Gratitude.³

His soliloquies are, to be sure, not exactly what Ford might have made them, but the "lofty, insolent and passionate" vein is at least attempted. Again, the character suggests not infrequently Rochester's own. Witness the closing lines of Act i where John Fletcher's emperor says:

¹ I, 1, p. 9.

² II, 1, p. 19.

³ IV, 1, p. 46.

The honesty of this Aecius,
 (Who is indeed the bulwark of the empire)
 Has div'd so deep into me, that of all
 The sins I covet, but this woman's beauty,
 With much repentance now I could be rid of;
 But she is such a pleasure, being good,
 That though I were a god, she'd fire my blood;

but John Wilmot's:

The Honesty of this *Aecius*,
 Who is indeed the Bulwark of my Empire
 Is to be cherisht for the good it brings,
 Not valu'd as a Merit in the Owner!
 All Princes are Slaves bound up by Gratitude,
 And Duty has no Claim beyond Acknowledgement
 Which I'll pay *Aecius*, whom I still have found
 Dull, faithful, humble, vigilant and brave:
 Talents as I could wish 'em for my Slave:
 But oh this Woman! —
 Is it a sin to love this lovely Woman?
 No: She is such a Pleasure, being good;
 That tho' I were a God, shee'd fire my Blood.

As the play progresses, indeed, his Valentinian lapses into the monster. Yet we must not forget what a good actor might have done with the rant of the death scene — the torments of conscience, the swing back to desperation. And there are touches here (turgid and grandiloquent though most of the scene is) that are not devoid of passion, and one, at least, well worthy of quotation for its own sake:

I've thought enough, and with that thought resolve
 To mount Imperial from the burning Pile.
 I grieve for *Aecius*! Yes, I mourn him, Gods,
As if I had met my father in the dark,
*And striving for the Way had murder'd him.*¹

As for Lucina, she is now so overlaid with sentiment and prudery as to give no impression of reality. Her early

¹ P. 80. The italics are mine.

dialogue with Valentinian may be preferred to the namby-pamby soliloquy in the grove, but even here she escapes the consequences of being out-argued only by a weak evasion. Fletcher gave pathos to her earnest questioning of Lycias; where we now find mere conceitfulness. In the long scene at court his heroine made a forced show of gaiety to cover her growing concern; Rochester's is consistently puritanical. "How do ye like the song?" one of the pandars asks her, and this "sweetly drooping flower" replies:

Sir, I am no Judge
Of Musick, and the words, I thank my Gods,
I did not understand.¹

In the older version she had said simply:

I like the air well;
But for the words, they are lascivious,
And over-light for ladies.²

The expanded account of her death might be quoted for further illustration of this new conception. It may suffice, however, to note that the one realistic touch in the original has been expunged.³

The alteration opens with music and show, as Valentinian "with a great court" passes over the stage. Maximus and Aecius stay behind, and are given the task of contributing exposition, which comes awkwardly enough from the former:

My happy Wife,
Fruitful in Charms for *Valentinian's* Heart,
Crowns the soft Moments of each welcome Hour,
With such variety of successive Joys,
That Lost in Love, when the long Day is done,
He willingly would give his Empire up
For the Enjoyment of a Minute more,
While I —

¹ IV, 1, p. 43.

² II, 5, lines 48-50.

³ "At which she fell, and stirr'd no more. *We rubb'd her*" (iii, 1, 369). Claudia, her waiting woman, is speaking to Maximus.

Made glorious through the Merit of my Wife,
 Am at the Court ador'd as much as She,
 As if the vast Dominion of the World
 He had Exchang'd with me for my *Lucina*.¹

They then take up the discussion of passive obedience as we find it in i, 3, of the original. Maximus, however, is careful, just before they go, to correct the wrong impression which his first speech might have created. He does not give way to "mean Jealousy," but has confidence in his wife:

Virtue and *Maximus* are plac'd too near
Lucina's Heart, to leave him such a fear.

He does not "abhor the Person" of the Emperor, but is only "concern'd for Rome, and for the World." The two generals withdraw as Valentinian enters with Lucina. The interview which follows is entirely Rochester's. The Emperor courts her without reserve, and when his reasoning will not prevail against her loyalty to Maximus, "lays hold on her." She escapes him by promising to consult the gods, thus holding out some hope of his ultimate success. He then calls for the panders and urges them to ply their arts. They assure him that Lucina shall be his, and go out, leaving him to his thoughts. Aecius now returns and is questioned by Valentinian on the morale of the army—the admirable speeches of the two coming with little variation from i, 3, of the earlier tragedy. Then, with Valentinian's brief soliloquy already quoted, the act ends.²

The initial scene of the original comes next (ii, 1). But Valentinian presently joins the pandars, and, cursing them and their ill success,—for which he is glad, however, loving Lucina's virtue,—will essay the task himself. Meanwhile, he will amuse himself with gaming, and

¹ Pp. 1, 2.

² As the dicing scene comes later in the alteration than in the original, the Emperor makes no reference here to meeting Maximus in the gallery.

sends for Lycias. The scene closes with some unsavory comments by Chylax on the subject of the eunuch. Scene 2 recounts the tempting of Lucina by the two bawds — quite as in i, 2, of Fletcher's play.

The third act begins with the Emperor and Maximus at dice, and we get ii, 1, of the original, this time treated with some freedom.¹ In particular, more probability is given to the sending off of Maximus by the introduction of Balbus with news from the army. Scene 2 in a "Grove and Forest" is a pastoral addition of the reviser's. It opens with a long soliloquy by Lucina. Marcellina, who presumably had been tampered with, brings word that Maximus has been called back to court. Lucina is terrified at the very name of the Emperor. Marcellina sings to her,² and she falls asleep. A Dance of Satyrs introduces the third scene. Claudia and Marcellina reënter, and chat together. Lucina wakes, and tells of "threatening Visions" in her dream.³ Lycias brings her the lying message,⁴ but only fine writing and the insipidities of love and honor follow. Indeed, the alterations here are the worst in the whole play.

The first scene of Act iv treats of the cashiering of Pontius, as in ii, 3, of Fletcher's play. The elaborate temptation scene⁵ of the original comes next (iv, 2); but with many cuts (especially in the wit encounter with Licinius) and some substitutions. Fletcher's two songs ("Now the lovely spring" and "Hear ye ladies"), singularly graceful and appropriate as they were,⁶ have given place to a quite uninspired pastoral dialogue. Maskers are spoken of, and, after Valentinian has ended the scene with an added

¹ For example, Rochester's emperor names an Arabian horse as the necessary pawn for the ring; Fletcher's had allowed Maximus to "have it without price."

² "Where wou'd coy Aminta run," described as "by Mr. W."

³ In rhymed couplets, which persist through the rest of the scene.

⁴ Cf. ii, 2, of the original.

⁵ Or scenes, it is subdivided in the *Var. Ed.*

⁶ Cf. Symonds, *In the Key of Blue*, pp. 228, 253.

soliloquy, we are shown "5 or 6 Dancing-Masters practising" (scene 3). They divert attention from what is taking place within, and dance on while Licinius comments sardonically on the rape. The other pandars join him, and the opening dialogue of the original third act ensues. Then the "Scene opens, discovers th' Emperor's Chamber. Lucina newly unbound by th' Emperor"¹ (scene 4). From this point² to the end of the act, Rochester follows Fletcher. There are, however, large excisions and, by way of compensation, an added speech for Maximus (amounting to some forty lines) on foreordination and the presence of evil in the world. A good deal of this is written in stanzas rhyming ababb — a curious bit of reactionism.

Scenes 2 and 3 of the original third act are omitted, and a new scene opens Act v. Aecius, fearing that Maximus will seek vengeance on the tyrant, decides to accompany his friend to Egypt. He entrusts this news to Proculus, who informs us that he will "blow up the fire":

This may be Treason, or I'll make it so.

Scene 2 corresponds to iv, 1, of the original, and deals with Valentinian's grief at the news of Lucina's death, his reading of the letter (altered to suit the new circumstances), and his determination to make use of Pontius as his instrument against Aecius. Phidias and Aretus are not called in — Proculus suggesting the employment of Pontius — and most of the later part of the scene is rewritten. Scene 3 is the dialogue between Proculus and Pontius (as in iv, 3, of the original), Aretus overhearing the conclusion of it. Scene 4 carries on the plot to the point where Aecius rushes in seeking some one to give him death (iv, 4, of Fletcher's play). The suicide on the

¹ P. 48. Mrs. Behn speaks of Valentinian's appearing "all loose and ruffled a Moment after the Rape." (Preface to *The Lucky Chance*, 1687, ed. Summers, iii, 186.)

² III, 1, 28 ff., of the original.

stage, with what follows, is omitted. Phidias and Aretus, when dismissed by Aecius, had hurried off to get help from Afranius and Maximus, and the poisoning of Valentinian is not kept.¹ Instead, the last scene begins with "Valentinian and the Eunuch discover'd on a Couch." There are some lines in which the Emperor refers to "the dear memory" of Lucina. Aecius rushes in with two swords. He pleads for death, and, when Valentinian refuses, rouses him by slaying Lycias. "They fight. Aecius runs on the Emp. Sword, and falls. Dies." Valentinian exults. Phidias enters with Maximus. Valentinian kills Phidias. Maximus stirs him to a realization of his sins; then cries "'Tis now fit time!" — but Aretus comes with soldiers, and it is they who kill the Emperor. "Lead me to Death or Empire, which you please," cries Maximus, "For both are equal to a ruin'd Man."

.

In Nahum Tate's *Poems by Several Hands and on Several Occasions* (1685), is found "*A Mask* made at the Request of the late Earl of *Rochester*, for the Tragedy of *Valentinian*." It is assigned by Mr. Gordon Goodwin² to Sir Francis Fane, the author of the two pieces which precede it in the collection. A tasteless and sometimes ludicrous performance of some hundred and fifty lines, it was evidently intended to be played just before the "Dance of Satyrs" at the beginning of iii, 3. Zephyrus, Favonius, and the Moon linger by the sleeping Lucina. They go out, after throwing down lilies "steep'd in the Ice-house of the River *Styx*." Venus and Mercury succeed them. Baffled in their designs against her chastity,

¹ Genest observes that the Valentinian of history "was not poisoned, but stabbed by two of Aecius' followers" (i, 410), and the change may conceivably have been made for this reason. I may add that the beautiful "Care-charming Sleep" is replaced by some verses of Wilmot's.

² *Dictionary of National Biography*, vi, 1037; cf. *Biographia Dramatica*, 1812, iii, 28. Giles Jacob had given it to "Mr. Tate. Printed in his Miscellanies" (*Poetical Register*, p. 321).

they at length summon Cupid, who shoots at Lucina, but the arrow breaks. In despair they send for Pluto,¹ who decrees that Lucina must be ravished. Venus pleads against the decision in vain, and Pluto concludes:

Come then, I'll call
My Satyrs to prepare the willing Fall,
And in soft Dreams preach Honour's Funeral.

I find no evidence that this masque was ever performed.²

.

Reference has been made to a manuscript version of Wilmot's play.³ *Lucina's Rape*, as this is called, contains a considerable number of scattered verses, many of them Fletcher's, which do not appear in the Quarto, but in no case are these of great significance. There are variations at the beginning of Act iii. In the manuscript, Lycias—who in both versions is a member of Lucina's own household—brings word that Aecius has been called back to court, a message conveyed in the Quarto by Marcellina. Lucina presently falls asleep; but before the representation of her dream (the manuscript has a Masque here, and not merely the Dance of Satyrs) Lycias reads "a note from Proculus." In this he is told that 'the Emperor loves him,' 'longs for his company,' and that great advancement awaits him. He soliloquizes:

This is a Summons to Prosperity
And if I stopp or falter at the meanes
Or think they can bee vile and infamous . . .
May I be burnt a senseless Sacrifice.⁴

After the masque the "Scaene opens discovers the Emperour at dice"—and we have iii, 1, of the printed play.

¹ Pluto's arguments are obviously inspired by Valentinian's own reasoning on the subject in iv, 1.

² The readings of i, 1, 9; i, 2, 55; i, 3, 146; iii, 1, 13, 207; iv, 4, 116, point to the Second Folio as the text used by Rochester.

³ P. 73, above.

⁴ *Lucina's Rape*, p. 25 v°.

At its conclusion "Enter Claudia and Marcellina" for their confidences, and in due time Lucina "guides her steps this way," to tell of her dream and swallow the bait cast for her by the eunuch.

Another variation in sequence is found at the beginning of the preceding act, Ardelia and Phorba in the manuscript conversing with Lucina before, and not after, the despairing colloquy of the pandars.¹ We must suppose, accordingly, that the latter were but poorly informed of the state of things when we still find:

Lyc[inius]. If y^e women should chance to fayle too,

Chi[lax]. As 't is ten to one

Pro[culus]. Why what remains but new netts for y^e purchase.²

Finally, and one would very much like to know why, the two unsavory passages about Lycias (at the end of Act ii, the commencement of v, 5) both appear in the manuscript,³ but were so heavily scored through by the copyist as to be undecipherable to a person not already acquainted with the Quarto.

The word copyist brings us to the conclusions of Mr. Nicoll with regard to the nature of the manuscript—conclusions which seem wholly justifiable to the present writer. He maintains that the manuscript "was copied by a scrivener," the handwriting not being Rochester's, and a number of mistakes occurring "due to misreading of the original, mistakes which could not have been made by the author himself." He cites one such in the opening scene of the tragedy,

Crownes ye soft moments of each welcome Bower,⁴

where "Hour," the Quarto reading, is obviously the right

¹ Mr. Allardyce Nicoll who, as already noted, has devoted an article to the manuscript, does not call attention to this divergence (see *The Times Literary Supplement*, January 13, 1921).

² Fletcher, i, 1, 108-110; *Lucina's Rape*, p. 21, v^o.

³ Pp. 23, 64, 65.

⁴ Line 8.

one. It would be easy to multiply examples of the same sort of thing.¹

The manuscript "certainly was the copy of Rochester's original alteration of Fletcher's drama, another copy having evidently come into the hands of a prompter, subsequently being used as the basis of the quarto." As I have said, many of Fletcher's verses which were lost in the printed *Valentinian* are retained in *Lucina's Rape*. The latter, moreover, follows the original in several cases where the Quarto departs from it.² In one curious instance, where Rochester had telescoped two of the speeches assigned to Chilax, the marginal *Chi.* is repeated at the beginning of the second, just as Wilmot had carelessly left it.³ There is no want of evidence to show that the Quarto represents a stage copy. Mr. Nicoll cites the new directions, "A Ring," iii, 3, p. 36; "Musick," iv, 2, p. 41; "Ring," pp. 44; "A letter," v, 1, p. 58; and "Aretus here," p. 66. To these should be added "Call Emperor behind," in the fourth act while Phorba and Ardelia are still carrying on with Lucina.⁴ Mr. Nicoll suggests also

* Twice the copyist misinterpreted dialogue as stage direction (pp. 21 v°, 64). Once he could not read a word, "Ave," in

To give an Ave Caesar as he passes

(Fletcher, ii, 3, 83),

and left a blank space for it (p. 35). In iv, 2, he wrote "Standard Court" (p. 37) for "Slander'd Court" (Quarto, p. 40); and, two scenes later,

To slaken Flattery and plain'd over

for

To silken Flattery, and Pride plaind over

(Fletcher, iv, 4, 200; Quarto, p. 73).

¹ For example,

A power that can preserve us after ashes

(*Lucina's Rape*, p. 20 v°; Fletcher, i, 1, 70),

where the Quarto reads "after death" (p. 16); and "Well, what's thought of?" (*Lucina's Rape*, p. 21, v°; Fletcher, i, 1, 107) where the Quarto reads "Whats to be thought of?" (p. 17).

³ *Lucina's Rape*, pp. 20, 21; Fletcher, i, 1, 73, 82. The second *Chi.* was of course deleted in the Quarto, p. 16.

⁴ P. 43. The Quarto adds "A Garden," at the head of ii, 2 (p. 20); a "Grove and Forest," at the head of iii, 2 (p. 27). It gives the text of the added songs for the first time.

that the changes at the beginning of Act iii were due to "promptorial rehandling." The new arrangement is unquestionably the more felicitous of the two, and might quite naturally have been evolved while the play was still in rehearsal.

EDMUND WALLER, *The Maid's Tragedy*

Two editions of Waller's celebrated *rifacimento* came out almost simultaneously. On September 26, 1689, was licensed "The Second Part of Mr. Waller's Poems, containing his Alteration of the Maids Tragedy. . . . Printed for Tho. Bennet." This was advertised in the *Term Catalogues*¹ in November, while on the twenty-fourth of that month, *The Maid's Tragedy Alter'd* with other *Remains of Edm^d Waller* appeared in the *Stationers' Register*² against the name of Jacob Tonson. This second edition was thus introduced: "Most of the following Pieces, being unfinish'd, were never intended to be publish'd; but that a Person [presumably Bennet], who had borrowed a Manuscript Copy of them, took upon him to print them. The Copy from which they were printed, was very Imperfect; and there being noe means left to suppress them, it was thought fit to suffer them to be more correctly printed from the last and Truest Copies." The Tonson editor, in a further note, assures us that "Mr. *Waller* in his first Thoughts of Altering the Play, pitcht upon a design of making *Evadne* go among the Vestals. But considering, that the Persons in this Play are suppos'd to be Heathens, who never admitted any but pure Virgins among their Vestals; he changed his design. Nevertheless before he did so, he had writ the following Verses."³ And there follows the first scene of the play as it had appeared in Bennet's edition.⁴

¹ II, 288.

² III, 366.

³ P. 44.

⁴ Or, to be precise, the first episode (ending with *Evadne's* exit) and the opening couplet of the succeeding speech.

That Tonson's edition represents a revised version seems, on the whole, to be supported by the character of the variations themselves.¹ Thus, in weighing probabilities, it is easier to assume, other things being equal, that Waller would substitute a more accurate expression for a less, than *vice versa*; that he would smooth his lines rather than roughen them; and, subject to the reader's opinion of Sir Edmund, that he would remove rather than add a grotesque and patent absurdity. To one or another of these categories may be referred the changes illustrated below.

Mel[antius]. A brave Man rather than not take revenge,
Just, or unjust, should the whole World unhinge.

(Bennet, p. 14.)

— Rather than not accomplish my Revenge,
Just, or unjust, I would the World unhinge.

(Tonson, p. 16.)

K[ing]. Let us despatch, lest any find us here,
Before we fight; or he grow less severe.

(Bennet, p. 24.)

— Before we fight; or they grow less severe.²

(Tonson, p. 26.)

Asp[asia]. Oh! that some hungry Beast would come,
And make himself *Aspasia's* Womb!

(Bennet, p. 28.)

— And make himself *Aspasia's* Tomb!

(Tonson, p. 33.)

Am[intor]. Not ev'ry Lady does from Vertue fall,
Th' Injurious King doesn't possess 'em all.

(Bennet, p. 30.)

— Th' Injurious King does not possess them all.

(Tonson, p. 34.)

Asp[asia]. 'Twas in compassion of our woe,
That Nature first made Poysons grow . . .
As Mothers do their Children keep,

¹ Mr. P. A. Daniel does not attempt to show which version represents the original alteration (*Var. Ed.*, i, 6).

² "They" (*Melantius* and *Diphilus*) is called for by the context.

She feeds us, and she makes us sleep.

(Bennet, p. 31.)

—So Nature feeds, and makes us sleep.

(Tonson, pp. 35, 63.)

Asp[asia]. But say we are to live elsewhere,
What has the Innocent to fear?
Can I be treated worse below,
Than here? or more unjustly? No!
(Bennet, p. 32.)

— But say we are to live elsewhere,
What has the Innocent to fear?
Can I be treated worse than here?
(Tonson, p. 36.)

.

In Bennet's edition ¹ Evadne enters "with a Page of Honour." She tells the audience that

Amintor lost, it were as vain a thing,
As 'tis prodigious, to destroy the King.

Having decided, accordingly, to become a Vestal, she sends the page with letters to Melantius and the King, then "knocks and the Abbess enters." The latter readily accepts her: "They both go in, and the door shuts." Melantius appears with the letter. The fort and the army are already his, but to avoid bloodshed he plans to win over Lycippus by offering him the crown. He goes out, and the King, entering, tells the audience that a guilty conscience makes him distrustful of his general. Evadne's letter confirms his fears. While he is still reading it, Melantius returns, whispering with Lycippus.² They do not see the King, who, having completed his soliloquy, and "seeing them whisper . . . hides himself to hearken to their discourse."³ Lycippus had sworn not to disclose

¹ Neither edition contains any part of the original play. Waller confined his attention to the fifth act, which he completely rewrote.

² "Enter about the middle of the Letter Melantius and Lucippus whispering" (p. 9).

³ In Tonson's version this absurd situation is remedied by postponing the entrance of Melantius and Lycippus until the King has finished his ruminations and is ready to hide (p. 12).

the secret imparted to him by Melantius; but, when he realizes that a revolution is intended and finds that his arguments against it are vain, he challenges Melantius to single combat. The latter accepts and they leave the stage to the King, who rejoices at the loyalty of his brother. Strato brings news that the revolution has begun. The King sends him to find Diphilus. Only one course remains, he confides to the audience, that of challenging Melantius to single combat. And when Diphilus appears, his sovereign informs him that they must talk together. . . .

"Scene changes into a Field: Into which enter Lycippus¹ and Melantius, with Swords drawn." They are joined by the King and Diphilus, and a double combat ensues. But the royal generosity is rewarded. Melantius and Diphilus "only guard, and still give place," and presently "both kneel." The King then pardons his general — as some of the royal guard hurry in with word that the people are rising. Melantius sends Diphilus to find Amintor, and will himself confront the insurgents.²

"The Scene changes into a Forrest," and Aspasia enters. Desiring death, she goes in search of certain berries which her nurse had described as poisonous. Her soliloquy is succeeded by one from Amintor, who upbraids himself with having been guided in the matter of his marriage by ambition, not love. After his exit Aspasia reënters "with a Bough in her hand, full of fair Berries." At the end of the fourth successive soliloquy, "she puts some of the Berries to her mouth"; but providentially Amintor, returning, "strikes the Berries out of her hand, and

¹ So regularly for Lycippus in Waller.

² Mr. Daniel has it that His Majesty goes "with a guard" to "the place of combat. There he has Melantius in his power, but, scorning to take advantage of his position, he proposes a double combat" (*Var. Ed.*, i, 6). As a matter of fact, in neither version does the guard appear until after the conclusion of the duel.

snatches the Bough."¹ He makes protestation of his love, saying that though his marriage offers difficulty, yet:

The false *Evadne* to the King belong'd.
 You had my promise, and my Bed is free;
 I may be yours, if you can pardon me. . . .
 The Heav'n, the Air, Earth, and the boundless Sea,
 Make but one Temple for the Deity.
 That was a Witness to my former Vow:
 None can *Amintor* justly claim, but you.²

The King, now entering, blesses them. A messenger comes from Melantius with news that "the Town's appeas'd," and his Majesty concludes with a eulogy on "fraternal love."

The vestal episode, as we have seen, does not appear in Tonson's version. Instead, *Evadne* determines to leave Rhodes and "make sale of her beauty in Asiatic Courts,"³ this decision involving changes in the letter to the King, and, if we may judge from a comment by Melantius, in that to him. For the rest, there are minor variations only — to which sufficient attention, perhaps, has already been given. Waller would seem to have made still a third alteration in the tragedy. At least, this is the only inference to be drawn from an epilogue printed at the end of Bennet's edition, and described as "design'd upon the first alteration of the Play; when the King only was left alive." From the verses themselves something of its general character may be gathered.

Aspasia bleeding on the Stage does lye,
 To shew you still 'tis the *Maids Tragedy*.

¹ Tonson's version is again the more sophisticated; *Amintor* enters secretly a moment or two before the attempt, which he is thus prepared to frustrate when it takes place. The dialogue in this scene underwent a good deal of shifting about, on the whole to the improvement of the later version.

² Later the monarch hands *Evadne*'s letter to *Amintor*, saying "read this":

Am.

Evadne with the Vestals! Now

You'll have no more occasion for this Bough (p. 37).

³ Daniel, as above.

The fierce *Melantius* ¹ [was content, you see,
 [The King should live; be not more fierce than he.
 [Too long indulgent to so rude a Time;
 [When Love was held so capital a Crime,
 [That a Crown'd Head could no compassion find;
 [But dy'd, because] the Killer had been kind.
 This better natur'd Poet had repriev'd
 Gentle *Amintor* too, had he believ'd
 The fairer Sex his pardon could approve
 Who to Ambition sacrific'd his Love.
Aspasia he had spar'd; but for her Wound,
 Neglected Love, there could no Salve be found.
 When next we act this Tragedy again,
 Unless you like the change, I must be slain.²
 Excess of Love was heretofore the Cause
 Now if I dye, 'tis want of your Applause.³

Thus, in whatever manner Evadne, Melantius, Amintor, and Aspasia met their deaths, it is certain that neither the mistress nor her brother killed the King. Nay, Melantius was even "content that he should live."

The last point is important. For Waller's alteration is distinguished by a strongly ethical or, more accurately, political tinge. The killing of a king by his mistress "because the Killer had been kind" was, in the opinion of the reviser, a theme no longer acceptable to a refined age. So Evadne perceived that the idea of such a vengeance was "prodigious," and in her case "vain," and in this state of mind she was effectually disposed of at the outset.⁴ Melantius, who remained to support her cause, was confronted by Lycippus (the new hero of the play),

¹ The bracketed lines are found also in the epilogue which concludes the other versions, the fact being indicated here by the words, "*Éc. as before, to* — the Killer had been kind."

² In the other epilogue, the following couplet is interpolated at this point:

The innocent *Aspasia's* Life or Death,
Amintor's too, depends upon your breath.

³ Pp. 40, 41.

⁴ Rymer felt that, if anyone had reason to kill the King, it was Amintor, Melantius being expressly warned off (*Tragedies of the Last Age*, pp. 116 ff.; cf. p. 63, note, above).

and his arguments were completely refuted. The Rhodian monarch is held guiltless of crime,¹

Above
All Vice, all Passion, but excess of Love.

And Lycippus goes on:

Tho more in years, you have a Mistress still;
And for that fault would you your Sovereign kill?
Love is the frailty of Heroic minds;
And where great Vertues are, our pardon finds . . .
Justice and Bounty, in a Prince, are things
That Subjects make as happy as their Kings.
Will you contract the guilt of Royal Blood?
And rob your Country of her chieftest good? . . .
Of one, whose choice first made your Valour known,
And with those Armies you have got renown.
'Tis all the gratitude Subjects can shew,
To bear with Patience what their Princes do.

Melantius brings forward the authority of Brutus; but to this the answer is that Evadne's was not a case of rape:

But should a Prince, because he does comply
With one, that 's fair and not unwilling, dye? ²

Melantius can only sputter that he will have revenge at any cost; and is reminded:

Yet of all Vertues, Justice is the best:
Valour, without it, is a common Pest.
Pirates and Thieves, too oft with Courage grac'd,
Shew us how ill that Vertue may be plac'd.
'Tis our complexion makes us chaste or brave;
Justice from Reason, and from Heav'n we have.
All other Vertues dwell but in the blood,
That in the Soul, and gives the name of good.
Justice, the Queen of Vertues, you despise,
And only rude and savage Valour prize.
To your revenge you think the King and all

¹ "The King was not to blame; or however not so far, as in any wise to render his life obnoxious" (Rymer, p. 116).

² "But, good Madam, what reason is there for you to complain? . . . was not you as forward?" (Rymer, p. 119).

That Sacred is, a Sacrifice should fall:
The Town be ruin'd, and this Isle laid wast,
Only because your Sister is not chaste.

Melantius gives up argument: 'It is easy to preach,' he says, but

Oppression makes men mad, and from their breast,
All reason does, and sense of duty wrest.¹

The King's generous courage in setting aside his rank and meeting the brothers hand to hand fairly carries the day. As Diphilus puts it:

A thousand pitties, such a Royal pair
Should run this hazard for a wanton fair.

and one may imagine the applause when His Rhodian Highness cries:

Yet Heav'n does oft with its own Thunder kill:
And when Necessity and Right command,
A Sword is Thunder in a Sovereign's hand.²

The Maid's Tragedy has thus been converted into a thesis play. It was also calculated to be taken as an enco-mium. Lycippus, as I have said, is now the hero. Of him the King says:

O! what an happiness it is to find
A friend of our own blood, a Brother kind!
A Prince so good, so just, so void of fear,
Is of more value than the Crown I wear.
The Kingdom offer'd, if he would engage,
He has refus'd with a becoming rage.
Happy this Isle, with such a Hero blest;
What Vertue dwells not in his Loyal Breast.³

The version printed by Bennet had concluded with more verses to the same effect:

Of all we offer to the Pow'rs above,
The sweetest Incense is fraternal Love.

¹ Tonson's version, pp. 13-17. Bennet's differs only in punctuation.

² Tonson, pp. 25, 26; Bennet, p. 23.

³ Bennet, pp. 16, 17; cf. Tonson, pp. 18, 19.

Like the rich Clouds that rise from melted Gums,
 It spreads it self, and the whole Isle perfumes.
 For such a Brother, to th' Immortal Gods.
 More thanks I owe, than for the Crown of *Rhodes*.¹

In Tonson's, the last couplet has been transferred to the King's earlier speech, but is replaced by:

This sacred Union has preserv'd the State;
 And from all Tempest shall secure our fate:
 Like a well twisted Cable, holding fast
 The anchor'd Vessel in the lowdest Blast.²

Lines like these cannot but bring to mind a statement already quoted: "The Play was alter'd, to please the Court: 'Tis not to be doubted who sat for the two Brothers Characters."³

For the rest a few words will suffice. That Waller was utterly deficient in theatrical craftsmanship may be inferred from the outline of his alteration already given. Enough has been quoted to indicate the qualities of his style. Despite his repeated efforts to achieve a plot satisfactory to himself or to his friends, it is conceivable that he took even greater pains in attuning the tinkle of his couplets. The prologue which served both of the surviving versions, the epilogue to what seems to have been undoubtedly the final one, bear lengthy witness to his ideals in this matter. The latter reads in part:

Well sounding Verse, where Princes tread the Stage,
 Should speak their Vertue, or describe their rage.
 By the loud Trumpet, which our Courage aids,
 We learn that sound, as well as sense, persuades.
 And Verses are the potent Charms we use,
 Heroic Thoughts and Vertue to infuse.⁴

¹ P. 38.

² P. 42.

³ Bennet's edition, sig. *a* v^o. Cf. Genest, i, 337: "Waller concludes with a compliment to the King and the Duke of York, the more elegant, as it is indirect."

⁴ Tonson, pp. 43, 44.



John Mordaunt, 1st Duke of Mordoun and Earl of
Buckingham, Earle of Coventry, &c.

BUCKINGHAM (?), *The Restoration*

In *The Miscellaneous Works of His Grace George, Late Duke of Buckingham*, printed nearly twenty years after his death, appeared two excellent pieces entitled respectively, *A Prologue to Philaster* and *The Epilogue, to be spoken by the Governour in Philaster*.¹ Both, it is expressly stated, were written "by the Duke of Buckingham," and I see no reason to question the attribution.

Our next notice of the play is from the anonymous preface to the octavo Beaumont and Fletcher of 1711 — in general a mere scrapbook. Buckingham, we are told, after writing *The Chances*, "bestow'd some time in altering another Play of our Authors, call'd *Philaster*, or *Love lies a Bleeding*; He made very considerable Alterations in it, and took it with him, intending to finish it the last Journey he made to *Yorkshire* in the Year 1686. I cannot learn what is become of the Play with his Grace's Alterations, but am very well inform'd it was since the Revolution in the Hands of Mr. *Nevil Payn*, who was Imprison'd at *Edinburgh* in the Year 1689."² Into the career of this personage — a petty writer and political meddler, whose unenviable distinction it was to be the last prisoner who underwent torture in Scotland — it is needless to go.³ What concerns us is that he seems to have been an acquaintance and supporter of Buckingham's during the Duke's last years, and that as such he might conceivably have got hold of the play.⁴

This at last saw the light in 1714, forming part of another collection of the Duke's *Works*. It was now called

¹ I, 9-13.

² I, p. ix.

³ See T. F. Henderson in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, xv, 553.

⁴ In the *Miscellaneous Works* of 1705-1707, is a "Letter from *Nevill Payne* to a Domestic of the Duke of *Buckingham's*, upon occasion of his Grace's *Discourse Concerning Tolleration*," dated 1686 (i, 71). Payne had defended Buckingham the year before in a pamphlet called *The Persecutor Exposed*; and was honored by having addressed to him the Duke's *Essay upon Reason and Religion* (ii, 58).

"The Restauration: or, Right will take Place, A Tragi-comedy. Written by George Villiers, late Duke of Buckingham. From the Original Copy, never before Printed"; and was accompanied by the same prologue and epilogue. Payne, who had died four years before, is nowhere mentioned, nor is any explanation offered how the publisher came by his manuscript.

Finally, in 1719, this brief but emphatic notice appeared in *The Poetical Register* of Giles Jacob: "*The Restauration, or Right will take Place; a Tragi-Comedy. Injuriously father'd upon the Duke of Buckingham. Never acted.*"¹ And this statement has generally been taken over, with slight variation, in subsequent descriptions of the play.²

It remained for Professor Firth to point out that "in the epilogue to his version of *Philaster*, written evidently in 1683, Buckingham sneers at Shaftesbury as one who claimed infallibility and railed against popery in order to make himself a pope. . . . The prologue and epilogue printed in Buckingham's 'Works' are clearly his."³ There can be no reasonable doubt, I think, that Shaftesbury was aimed at in the epilogue, and references to his flight and death, to his having gone wrong for "five years" (that is, since 1678, when the Popish Plot was first broached) are sufficient warrant for dating it early in 1683.⁴

The prologue, furthermore, makes it probable, though by no means certain, that Villiers was author also of the alteration. It runs in part:

Nothing is harder in the World to do,
Than to quit that our Nature leads us to.

¹ P. 326.

² For example, in Baker's *Companion to the Playhouse; Biographia Dramatica* (ed. 1782, ii, 304; ed. 1812, iii, 201); Genest, x, 154; Dyce, i, 203; *Var. Ed.*, i, 120.

³ *Dictionary of National Biography*, xx, 343, 345.

⁴ Shaftesbury died on January 21 (W. D. Christie, *Life of Anthony Ashley Cooper*, ii, 455).

As this our Friend ¹ here proves, who, having spent
 His Time and Wealth for other Folks Content,
 Tho' he so much as Thanks could never get,
 Can't, for his Life, quite give it over yet;
 But, striving still to please you, hopes he may,
 Without a Grievance, try to mend a Play.
 Perhaps, he wish'd it might have been his Fate
 To lend a helping Hand to mend the State:
 Tho' he conceives, as things have lately run,
 'Tis somewhat hard at present to be done. . . .
 He, for the Public, needs wou'd play a Game,
 For which, he has been trounc'd by public Fame;
 And, to speak Truth, so he deserv'd to be,
 For his Dull, Clownish Singularity:
 For, when the Fashion is to break ones Trust,
 'Tis Rudeness then to offer to be Just.

Jacob's statement in 1719 is not in itself of much value.² What does throw doubt on the Duke's authorship is the indifferent quality of the alteration itself, and particularly the nerveless mediocrity of the verse. It is hard indeed to believe that the mercurial Villiers, at a time when he was still capable of writing with the vigor which characterizes the two pendant compositions, had anything to do with the lines which follow. Bellario's last speech in iii, 1, had ended:

— let there be
 A tear shed from you in my memory,
 And I shall rest in peace.
(lines 291 ff.)

This appears in *The Restoration* as:

— let there be
 A Tear, at least, shed by you for me; and
 I then shall rest in Peace.
(P. 37.)

¹ Friend, that is, of the actor who spoke (or was to speak) these lines.

² It is somewhat singular that the author of *Poetic Reflections on a late Poem, entituled Absalom and Achitophel* (1682), a sufficiently bitter attack on Dryden, should now condescend to borrow a name for Shaftesbury from the very work in which he had himself been ridiculed. Yet our epilogue contains:

The most egregious of all Scribes could tell
 There never was such an *Architophell*.

In the next scene, Philaster had thus addressed Arethusa:

Mistress,
Forget the boy; I'll get thee a far better.
(lines 72, 73.)

And this is changed to

Madam, forget
This Boy; I'll get you one a great deal better.
(P. 39.)

But, not to multiply examples, in the last scene of the fourth act the same personage had pleaded:

Forgive me thou that art the wealth
Of Poor Philaster.¹

The later hero exclaims:

Oh,
Endymion! Thou that art the Wealth of poor
Philander, and that I have us'd so ill;
Pray let my Crimes be punish'd as they ought,
And don't forgive me, I deserve it not.²

Whoever the author was, he had taken cognizance of Dryden's strictures on the tragi-comedy. These were particularly concerned with the behavior of the hero. Fletcher "neither understood correct plotting, nor that which they call 'the decorum of the stage'"; he who would consider the play "will find it much below the applause which is now given it. He will see Philaster wounding his mistress, and afterwards his boy, to save himself; not to mention the Clown, who enters immediately, and not only has the advantage of the combat against the hero, but diverts you from your serious concernment, with his ridiculous and absurd raillery."³ By the omission of one hemistich ("Oh, do you breathe?")⁴ and the addition of a stage direction ("Clown Falls")⁵ the victory is now

¹ Lines 123, 124.

² Pp. 56, 57.

³ *The Defence of the Epilogue*, 1672, Scott-Saintsbury, iv, 229, 230. See also *The Grounds of Criticism in Tragedy*, 1679, vi, 271.

⁴ IV, 3, 104.

⁵ P. 50.

definitely bestowed on Philaster; and a very small but essential change, noted in the analysis, would have satisfied Dryden, in his right mind, on the general subject of the Country Fellow.

The character of the hero has, indeed, been conscientiously reinterpreted. He still wounds both his mistress and the page, but in each case the circumstances are different. Finding Bellario and Arethusa together,¹ he now rushes at them in a frenzy of indignation, and, aiming at the page, wounds his mistress. He is at first ignorant of the accident, and on learning of it is moved to contrition. He still fights with the clown, but afterwards lingers, and when Arethusa bids him flee replies: "D'ye think I'll leave you thus to save my Life."² Going at last, he forgives her, though still suspecting that she is guilty. When next we see him he is utterly miserable. He comes upon Bellario asleep and decides to kill him, though "very loth to do so." "Who can trust a woman's word?" he asks himself.

I'm sure I saw him take her in his Arms;
And he deserves to lose his Life for that.³

Bellario wakes — and is wounded, pleading that his lord be not angry with him. In other words, Philaster never intends to harm Arethusa, and in wounding Bellario has no thought of saving his own skin, but only of doing an act of justice. Moreover, nearly two pages are added to the later scene⁴ in which he begs forgiveness. Arethusa tells him she has a priest ready to marry them, but for her sake, fearing the King's anger, he refuses. She swears to take her own life if he persists; and, finding himself "out-done . . . in all the kindest Proofs of Love," he agrees: "Let's talk no more, but love, love till we die."⁵

¹ His jealousy is made more explicable by the omission of Bellario's appeal to him, — "My lord, help, help the princess," — for which is substituted, "Are you not better yet?" addressed to Arethusa (*Philaster*, iv, 3, 26; *The Restoration*, p. 48).

² P. 50. ³ P. 53. ⁴ *Philaster*, v, 2; *The Restoration*, v, 1. ⁵ P. 62.

One other character has been consistently restudied. The Pharamond of the Jacobean play, though much of a braggart and something of a fool, is still within hailing distance of the conceivable. Thrasomond, his successor, is a complete buffoon throughout, "a pretty forward Boy about four and twenty."¹ In the initial scene, his "Governour" prompts him with "You must be angry, Sir."² After the discovery of his *liaison* with Megra (which is now wholly ridiculous) he makes no show of resistance, but is taken sneaking out of the back door "in Drawers, muffled up in a Cloak."³ And later still he lives up to his new character by swearing, when the Princess bids him, "Why then i' fecks I will."⁴ It was, indeed, only in the low comedy scene with the citizens that the reviser felt satisfied to leave him as he was.

The *dramatis personae* have all been rechristened, though, for metrical reasons perhaps, their new names agree with the old in accentuation and number of syllables. Philaster is now Philander; Dion, Cleon; Pharamond, Thrasomond; Thrasilene, Agremont; and Cleremont, Adelard: Arethusa is Araminta; Megra, Alga; Galatea, Melisinda; and Euphrasia-Bellario is Euphrosyne, as Cleon's daughter — Endymion, as Philander's page. Thrasomond's "Governour" is the only added character, and takes little part in the action of the play. In the opening scene, to be sure, we find him talking with the ladies, and later prompting his royal pupil; but thereafter he disappears until we reach the epilogue. Philander enters a little earlier than Philaster had — in time for an aside, "Thou ugly silly Rogue," following Thrasomond's prolonged blast of self-praise. But Alga (Megra) and Melisinda (Galatea) no longer comment on the two princes — which is a pity — and there is abridgment both at the beginning and end.⁵ Some of Are-

¹ P. 7.² P. 11.³ II, 4, p. 25.⁴ IV, 3, p. 52.⁵ Megra has again lost by them. Minor cuts figure in practically every scene.

thusa's best lines were sacrificed early in scene 2,¹ and her interview with her lover has been largely rewritten. It is a coy princess we have now, and one who no longer speaks out. Philander, too, is a conventional gallant who spares no protestation when once he has been given his cue. On the other hand, the description of Bellario, and the quarrel between Philaster and Pharamond, are taken over with little variation.

This is also the case with the first scene of Act ii. The second scene, in which Pharamond made an assignation with Megra, overheard by Galatea, was dropped, the report of Melisinda to the Princess sufficing, in the later playwright's opinion, to prepare his audience for the sensational events to come. Scene 3 of the original is, accordingly, scene 2 in the alteration — and is practically unchanged. It had been followed by the good-nights of the ladies and courtiers, with Pharamond's remarks that he was hunting, next morning, and the notice taken of Bellario by both Megra and Dion.² The reviser felt no compunction in reducing this to a line or two, and was wrong in so doing. The original is then taken up again, and is followed, with some cuts and minor changes,³ to Alga's denunciation of the Princess. This had been imperfectly motivated in the old play, but we knew something, at any

¹ Notably:

Whilst I
May live neglected; and do noble things
As fools in strife throw gold into the sea,
Drown'd in the doing (lines 14-17).

² *Meg[ra]*. Look you, my lord,
The princess has a Hylas, an Adonis . . .

Dion. Serves he the princess?

Thra[solind]. Yes.

Dion. 'Tis a sweet boy: how brave she keeps him!

(iii, 4, 19, 28, 29.)

³ The assignation, for instance, is now at Alga's lodgings instead of Pharamond's. The changed behavior of the Spanish prince has already been noted.

rate, about the "lascivious lady" who made it, and that she had taken notice of the new page. In the alteration, Alga is practically a new character, and her accusation is a bolt from the blue.

The third act is retained about as it stood.¹ The fourth, however, is very much changed. The principal divergences have already been described, but there are others not without interest. The hunting scene at the beginning (realistic background again) was cut, and the same fate overtook the jocular talk of the two woodmen.² The play is resumed with Philander's soliloquy beginning, "Oh, that I had been nourish'd in these woods,"³ Endymion, after an added word or two for the audience's sake,⁴ breaks in upon his reverie, and the scene then proceeds like its prototype.⁵ The Country Fellow enters at the beginning of scene 2, explains his presence by remarking that he wants to see the King, then exit. This transposition serves to avoid the awkwardness, which Dryden had

¹ One change is worth mentioning. In the second scene, when Philander accuses his mistress of misconduct with her boy, she now asks:

Ara. Why, did he tell you so?

Phil. It may be he did.

Ara. Alas, then I'm undone (p. 40).

Araminta's reproaches to the page, later in the scene, are thus rendered more fully explicable.

² At the commencement of iv, 2.

³ IV, 2, 33 ff.

⁴ It grieves me that I'm forc'd to disobey,
His last Commands; but 'tis not in my Pow'r
To forbear speaking, when I look on him.
I'll make as if I wanted, tho' Heav'n knows
I can't, because I do not wish to live (p. 43).

The last two lines were suggested by iv, 3, 6 ff.

⁵ There are, of course, minor alterations. The following, for instance, is very plausibly taken from Pharamond and assigned the King:

There's some treason.
You, Galatea, rode with her into the wood;
Why left you her?

(*Philaster*, iv, 2, 138-140; *The Restoration*, p. 46.)

Neither Dyce nor Mr. Daniel chose to record the emendation.

felt, in the succeeding episode. What follows, except for the changes already discussed, is substantially unaltered up to the end of the act,¹ where some lines of an expositional nature — in part from v, 1 — are added to the brief remarks of Cleremont and Dion, the latter's successor concluding with: "I can't imagine what all this should mean."

The last act opens with Philaster's contrition (v, 2, of the old play), followed immediately by the added pages concerning the marriage, already mentioned. Then comes, at the beginning of the second scene, a patch of exposition — again in part from v, 1. The rest represents *Philaster*, v, 3, much reduced.² The King becomes sententious toward the end, and is no longer merely panicky. But he prepares us for his final act of wickedness:

I see I must release him now: It goes
Against my Heart to do a virtuous Act;
But there's no Remedy. Who's there, Go bring
Philander hither.³

The baiting of Pharamond is retained as scene 3, and is followed by the original conclusion (4), as usual somewhat abridged.⁴

ELKANAH SETTLE'S *Philaster*,

The author of *The Restoration* had gone far in correcting the character of Beaumont and Fletcher's hero. Settle completes the task. His *Philaster*, finding the Princess and Bellario together (iv, 3), does, indeed, give way to menaces,⁵ and drives away his page. Arethusa

¹ One misses Arethusa's reproof:

What ill-bred man art thou, to intrude thyself
Upon our private sports, our recreations? (iv, 3, 94, 95).

² Particularly the marriage speeches at the beginning.

³ Pp. 66, 67; cf. lines 161-165.

⁴ The omission of lines 80-85, 150 ff., weakens the episode of Bellario's confession.

⁵ His tirade at sight of them (iv, 3, 28 ff.) is much abridged in both alterations.

swears that she is innocent, but he will not listen. "Presenting his Sword to her," he pleads:

Take this glittering Mercy,
And guide it to my Heart. . . .
For that dear generous Blow, an act so kind,
I'll tune thee my first Song in Choires of Angels.¹

But Arethusa falls on the sword herself. "Shall I be Innocent now?" she asks. "Innocent," he cries,

Thou fairest whiteness, dearest Angel Martyr,
More Heav'n than all Heav'n holds.

The Princess bleeds, and presently "faints away as if she dyed." Philaster is distracted and cries out that he has murdered her. Bellario and some of the courtiers hurry in. Suicide would be too good a fate for me, the hero soliloquizes,

No *Arethusa*, now
I'll do thee nobler Justice: Jayls and Dungeons;
A Headsman and an Ax, Scaffolds and Pinnacles,
Recorded shame and ever branding Infamy.

And he tells them to lead him to death:

Erect a Scaffold,
High as the Clouds, and sound a Trump so loud,
If possible, the Summon'd World may call:
Invite 'em to a Feast, and Gorge 'em all.²

In the last act, when he is brought in guarded, he outdoes the King in execration:

King. What hast thou done!

Phil. Say first, thou bold Examiner,
How dar'st thou ask that question!

King. Dare!

Phil. Dare ask it.

For know, thou bold Demander, thou requirest me
To make thee the Relation of a Deed
Which art thou sure thou'rt Man enough to hear me? . . .

¹ P. 40.

² P. 42.

That radiant Temple of Angelick Truth,
Has this Rebellious Infidel destroy'd.
But, haste, dull King, thy drowsie Thunder sleeps.¹

In the same vein are his remonstrances when Bellario would save him by a feigned confession of guilt. And when this is accepted Philaster cries:

If thou must Dye, such Truth, such Honour dye;
Let these Embraces be thy Executioners!
These twining Arms, and stiffling Kisses kill thee
Oh thou dear! all Divine. Now Gentlemen,
If there be Cruelty enough amongst you
To point a Javelin at this sacred Breast,
Strike through both Hearts; for by yond fair Eternity
I 'll not out live the hour such Virtue bleeds.²

By such means does this hero make atonement for the sins of his ancestor. And, to make assurance double sure, one more innovation has been effected in his favor. Instead of being the rightful heir to Sicily, he is now that even more acceptable figure, a brave general unrewarded by his king. Nay, when the crown is offered him, he refuses it with such display of loyalty as must have warmed the hearts of the groundlings:

What do I live to hear? Oh! Gentlemen,
As you would have your Names, your deathless Names,
Fill the fair Annals of recorded Glory,
Blot not your Memories with a Stain so impious. . . .
If I 've done well, the Glory of well-doing
Repays it self; Virtue's its own Reward,
In its rich self a fair and ample Patrimony;
And stands above the poor and sordid thought
Of mercenary Hope.³

This transmutation is the essential thing, I take it, in Settle's version of the play. But its amazing fustian, though to be expected from the creator of *Laula*, Empress

¹ P. 46.

² P. 49.

³ III, I, p. 26. In v, 3, p. 50, he addresses the insurgents in similar fashion:

Oh, hold, forbear this impious profanation!
The King's all God-like good.

of Morocco, leaves a more lasting impression. Some illustrations (and quite enough for our purposes) are afforded by the verses already quoted. For others, the curious may be referred to the latter part of either iv, 3, or v, 1. It should be added, however, that the dialogue of the original was, as a rule, less mutilated by Settle than by the pseudo-Buckingham.¹

The first few lines of exposition come from the old play, but soon we begin to find differences. Philaster is no longer the right heir to Sicily, but to Arragon, which had been

Torn from him in his weak and sleeping Infancy
By *Spain's* encroaching Monarch —²

a personage who does not figure otherwise in the drama. However, the King of Sicily and Calabria, though no longer a usurper, remains an unlikable figure. Philaster had aided him in his wars against Spain, during which, by converting a defeat into a great victory, he had won him the Calabrian crown. Despite this, it is Pharamond, the Spanish heir, who is to marry Arethusa —

¹ Mr. F. C. Brown in his monograph, *Elkanah Settle*, has given a somewhat misleading account of the alterations. "Until the fourth act is reached," he says, "the only changes are the shortening of the scene between Pharamond and Megra in the second act, a slight rearrangement of other scenes, the omission of some stage directions, the change of a number of prose lines into blank verse, the breaking-up of some long speeches into shorter ones by having one of the interlocutors insert a remark or ask a question, and the addition of some unimportant speeches. In the fourth act . . . the third scene is shortened by omitting the countryman's part, and the fourth scene is also much abridged. From this point to the end, the new play differs somewhat from the original: the scenes and incidents are changed and new scenes added, but the ending is the same" (p. 99). That some of these statements are of doubtful validity will appear, I think, from an examination of the analysis below. Moreover, though in rare instances prose is turned into verse, or a long speech broken up, neither change could be called characteristic of the play, while as for stage directions, a very considerable number are actually added (see pp. 3, 21, 33, 34, 38, 52, etc.). Nay, in one case an *exit*, that of Arethusa at ii, 4, 15, (cf. line 37), is correctly indicated where the modern editions do not show it.

² Pp. 2, 3.

All the Proud Trophies of *Philaster's* Sword,
Made the fair Prize of his insulting Enemy.

With the entrance of the ladies the old play is taken up again for a few lines. But the witty Galatea is presently courted by Cleremont; and Megra, growing restless at the lack of attention shown her, begins a skirmish,¹ which is interrupted by the appearance of the King. Again we have Beaumont and Fletcher (with slight cuts) up to the point where Philaster asks to be heard.² Here a lengthy *apologia* is inserted, in which he reminds the King of his past services and their ill requital. Minor changes, only, mark the rest of the scene. Scene 2, except for the heightened protestations of the lover,³ is all but a direct transcript of the original.

Of ii, 1, this may be said without any reservation, but ii, 2, shows freer treatment. The repartee of Pharamond and Galatea had become faded, and Settle translated it, passably enough, into the style of his day. But the Spaniard is still overreached at the end, only to make a fresh beginning with the less obdurate Megra. The rest of this second scene, the third, and, except in one instance, the last are no more than a somewhat impoverished version of the older play.⁴ The exception is that Settle's King no longer prays that Arethusa be spared the vengeance his own unrighteousness had provoked. The soliloquy in question⁵ had taken up the time spent by Dion in searching for Pharamond, and to replace it the reviser trans-

¹ The last lines are premonitory:

Meg. Well, well, the time may come —

Gal. When you and I may laugh together: You at making the Jest, and I at marring it (p. 4).

² Line 181.

³ I may add that it is the Princess who remembers their need of a go-between, Philaster then suggesting Bellario as "not yet seen in the Court" — a touch, unnecessary perhaps in view of ii, 4, 19 ff., yet creditable to the adapter.

⁴ II, 2, 90-100; ii, 3, 27-30, and some other lines were dropped.

⁵ II, 4, 56-69.

posed some of the dialogue which had been spoken just before Dion's exit, adding to this a line or two of his own. Whatever may have been the reason for this change (perhaps the inappropriateness of the prayer, now that the King is no longer an usurper), its effect is actually to enhance the reality of the episode. And such changes are sufficiently rare in Restoration versions of old plays to deserve mention.

The talk of Dion and his friends at the beginning of Act iii has undergone some necessary revision only — such as “ungrateful King” for “usurping King.” Philaster's indignant refusal of their offer has already been cited. What remains of the act is to all intents and purposes unaltered.

In the first two scenes of Act iv a number of scattered verses were expunged, but on no other principle, apparently, than the general one of economy.¹ The sweeping changes which follow have already been described. Up to Bellario's exit ² the contour, at least, of the original is retained, while the language is that of Beaumont and Fletcher. Beyond, we have pure Settle.³ Bellario lingers for a florid benediction of her lord, then goes. When she returns, and promises the audience to disclose her secret, it is too late: Arethusa lies wounded, and Philaster is on the point of killing himself. So, at the end of the scene, the page remains on the stage for self-reviling:

Why was I born for the accursed Cause
Of all this heap of Ruines. Poor *Philaster*,
Thine's but the Hand, and Sword, 'tis I am the Murderer:
For, Oh, with one kind word, one Gentle Breath,
How had I stopt this hideous Scene of Death.⁴

¹ Scene 2 is divided at lines 33 and 78 — an anticipation of 'Mr. Daniel's suggestions (*Var. Ed.*, i, 200, 202). Megra's gratuitous obscenity at the end is omitted, as it had been in *The Restoration*.

² Beaumont and Fletcher, iv, 3, 62; Settle, p. 38.

³ A line or so (iv, 3, 67) is retained, and as much more taken over from v, 2, 6.

⁴ P. 42.

And Settle thus suggests the ethical motive which his elders had somehow forgotten.

At the opening of the fifth act, we have comment on what has happened by Dion and one of the courtiers, who then determine to stir up an insurrection. The King appears, and rages against Philaster. Dion takes Philaster's part, and the King scolds back.¹ Philaster is brought in. His appeals for death are interrupted by Bellario, who vies with him in avowal of guilt. Finally, a messenger enters with news that the Princess is recovering.

Since that fair Oracle Lives, and blushing Truth
At last will speak,²

Philaster admits that "by her own Hand she fell." The King rejoices:

Oh Love, What is thy Power! But quick *Philaster*,
Oh let us fly with all the Wings of Love,
To Embrace that Darling Fair.

And now "the Scene opens, and discovers Arethusa seated on a Couch, who enters forward, led by her Women." A few ecstatic verses follow, then "Enter Rabble, and Pharamond Prisoner" — and we get a miserable remnant of what had been the street scene.³ The rabble "exeunt Shouting," and Philaster, turning to Pharamond, proposes that he and Megra return to Spain.⁴ The jade accuses Arethusa, and Bellario at once counters by taking Dion aside, and confessing that she is his daughter. Here the old play is taken up once more, and followed almost to the conclusion. Just before the end, however, comes a burst of generosity from an unexpected quarter. The King has promised Pharamond "safe Conduct home," and Philaster adds:

¹ A few lines come from v, 3, of the original: e.g., 86-90 (now spoken by the King!) and 6-19.

² P. 49.

³ Some twenty lines from v, 4, 81-136.

⁴ Cf. v, 5, 19 ff.

Phil. Yes, *Pharamond* return,
Back to thy *Spain*; till then I am thy friend.
But when we meet again: For we shall meet —

Phar. Yes, let me meet thee Prince, meet thee to bid
Thy native *Arragon* once more call thee Lord,
For Oh! Thou hast vanquish'd me:
Such conquering Virtue
Has won thee back thy Crown.¹

One would like to know what "Spain's encroaching Monarch" said when he heard the good news. . . .

THOMAS SCOTT, *The Unhappy Kindness*
(*A Wife for a Month*)

Of Thomas Scott very little is known. The *Biographia Dramatica* (1812) says he "was educated at Westminster School — from whence he was removed to the University of Cambridge in the reign of William III, and, during the latter part of Queen Anne's reign, he was secretary to the Earl of Roxburgh."² Besides his version of *A Wife for a Month* he left only one play, a comedy called *The Mock Marriage*, produced at Drury Lane in 1696.³ It shows some inventive power⁴ as far as plot is concerned, but the characters are stock types — the rake, the witty young heiress, the intriguing wife, a cuckold, a fop, the rake's sober-minded friend, etc. Motteux and Tom D'Urfey contributed songs, but the comedy seems not to have had much success.⁵

¹ This enables the King to retain his final blessing (lines 209-211).

² I, ii, 336. The notice goes back to Baker's *Companion to the Playhouse*, 1764.

³ Genest, ii, 105.

⁴ It may be noted that the comedy contains a reference to *The Little French Lawyer* (iii, 2, p. 24), and that one episode (iv, 1, p. 41) seems to have been inspired by *The Pilgrim*, iv, 1-2.

⁵ In the Harvard College copy of *The Unhappy Kindness* is a manuscript note "to Mr. Inglis by Joseph Romilly . . . April 30, 1858," which gives Scott's "admission at Trinity College, Cambridge" as follows: "Thomas Scott filius Thomae Scott natus apud Elworthy Comitatu Somersetiensi ē Scholā Westmonasteriensi electus ætatis 18 Junii 28°, 1692." The note adds: "He was matriculated in April 1693. He took no degree."

The tragi-comedy to which this young man undertook to give "a new Air more agreeable to the Humour of the present Age,"¹ contained almost all the imperfections of Fletcher's serious work, and some, at any rate, of its virtues. Scott did not remedy the real defects of artistic and moral insincerity. But on the formal side, while not losing the big scene, which Fletcher had worked up with an adroitness and singleness of purpose not unworthy of Sir Arthur Pinero, he made some improvements.

Perceiving that the two strands of the plot lacked connection, and that the subordinate one concerning the melancholy Alphonso was episodic and grossly improbable, he set himself to remedy these defects by bringing Alphonso to court, and making his madness feigned, and not real. The Prince's position thus became not unlike Hamlet's: and when one adds that he was now given the task of avenging a murdered father,² and that Frederick's wife has become the Queen-Mother, whom Alphonso loves but dares not confide in, the resemblance reaches such a point as to seem no longer accidental.³ Lines like the following might very well have come from a Hamlet with *Alterations and Amendments* by Mr. Thomas Scott:

Alph[onso]. What you weep now, and perhaps 'tis for my Father; and yet I have seen some women, and they wise ones too, do as much for the loss of a Lap-dog; but, Madam, tell me, did you ever see a Lawyer with a Fee in both hands?

Q[ueen] M[other]. Belike I have.

Alph. Why then you saw the Picture of Justice, you'll find his Breviate pinn'd to his back.

Q. M. Alas, my Son, these are disjointed Speeches,
The issue of a rack't distemper'd brain.

Alph. That's as much as to say I am a Fool, or a Madman; but go tell my Brother on't, he'll thank you for the discovery;

¹ Sig. A2.

² I, 2, p. 5.

³ At the end Alphonso and his mother die from the effects of a poison given them by the tyrant — not, however, before Alphonso has obtained his revenge.

for let me tell you, if 'twas not for Fools, what business would Knaves have in this world.¹

What is important for us, however, is that in this way the two strands of the plot are brought together. Thus Alphonso is advised to postpone his attack on the King until after Valerio's triumph,² and he takes advantage of Frederick's tyranny to win over the young soldier to his party.³ In the same connection, it should be observed that the revolution, which both dramatists found necessary for their *dénouement*, is already mooted in the first act of *The Unhappy Kindness* (by Alphonso's people), whereas in *A Wife for a Month* it was foreshadowed only at the end of the fourth.

The later play is a tragedy, Alphonso dying of the poison given him by Sorano. Scott has a curious reference to the concluding episode, in his preface: "*Alphonso's* Character in the last Act looks as if I had been resolv'd, whatever Absurdities I committed, to make the Part for the Lines, and not the Lines for the Part, and therefore kill'd him in Opposition to a known Rule in Poetry: I am almost ready to confess it, tho, how far I have transgress therein let the Critick judge; if he is offended at his last Scene, let the rest, which are all new, plead in my Behalf; I'm sure it improv'd his Character, and, through the Excellence of the Action, appear'd very Beautiful on the Stage." ⁴ It might be held that no apology was demanded for converting tragi-comedy into tragedy, or for getting rid of such a piece of crass theatricality as Fletcher's treatment of the poisoning episode.

When we turn to the main plot, we cannot give the adapter so much credit. By making Valerio a victorious general, he gave Frederick an added inducement, perhaps, for putting in practice the cruel device which forms the central theme of both plays. But the episode is rendered

¹ Pp. 3, 4.

² I, 2, p. 7.

³ IV, 2, p. 37.

⁴ Verbruggen acted Alphonso.

even less probable than it was before. A Neapolitan tyrant might conceivably have played some such diabolical trick on an obscure courtier, scarcely on a general in the day of his triumph.

Sorano, again, is handled in very uncertain fashion. The motives which actuate his villainy have become so subtle as to be nearly incomprehensible. He is no longer the brother of Evanthe, but her lover: yet he aids the King in his attempt to seduce her. And having aided Frederick in this and everything else, he still plots to overthrow him, urged, as he tells us,¹ not only by ambition but by love.

Classical ideals undoubtedly lay behind many of the changes. Thus the unities of time and place — as well as that of action — are much more nearly fulfilled in *The Unhappy Kindness* than in *A Wife for a Month*. The entire action may now be supposed to take place in the palace, and not shift back and forth from the palace to the monastery of San Marco; and it may be held to cover a period of little more than twenty-four hours, whereas formerly it had extended to the full month of the title.² Thus, again, the low-comedy scenes have gone by the board. Fletcher's clown Tony, his lawyer, physician, captain, and cutpurse — Evanthe's suitors of the last act — were felt to be out of place, and their disappearance is not particularly to be deplored. Finally, the nineteen scenes of the tragi-comedy are represented by some eight in the tragedy. Scott evidently held, with Crites, that it is a good thing to have the stage "so supplied with persons, that it is never empty all the time: he who enters second has business with him who was on before: and before the second quits the stage, a third appears who has business

¹ III, 1, p. 20.

² In iv, 5, Evanthe had said: "Our time is out tomorrow." Scott omitted this, and the night apostrophized by his Valerio, in the corresponding scene, may be taken to follow the wedding night (iv, 1, p. 28).

with him.”¹ The effect, however (as may be judged from the summary below), is not particularly happy, for the young writer’s technical equipment was, in general, unequal to the task of carrying out his ideas.

The ending of *A Wife for a Month* had been marked by a certain comfortable levity, typical enough of its author. With Frederick and Sorano bundled off to the religious life, and the former already showing signs of penitence, a screed of ethical admonition was quite unnecessary. “Come then,” Alphonso says:

Let’s in, and end this nuptial
Then to our coronation with all speed. . . .
Beshrew me, lords, who is not merry hates me!
Only Sorano shall not bear my cup.
Come, now forget old pains and injuries,
As I must do, and drown all in fair healths.

Very different is the tone of Valerio at the end of *The Unhappy Kindness*:

There broke the noble heart. I should follow him
In death did not the charms of love recall me;
Bear in th’ unhappy relicks and prepare
Noble interments worthy their great lives.
For me I have some right to the succession
Which in a general Assembly I ’ll make known.
Death finds the Monarch seated on his Throne
With as much ease as th’ humble Cottager:
But Proud unthinking men are taught too late,
No power can save ’em from the hand of fate.

In view of the changes wrought in the last act some such closing speech was, to be sure, called for. But the same sententious vein runs through the whole tragedy. Scott’s new ending of the preceding act is a compact piece of edification. Alphonso so works² upon the moral sensibilities

¹ Dryden’s *Essay of Dramatick Poesy* (Scott-Saintsbury, xv, 297). New scenes are not indicated in the alteration. I have assumed that they were intended at pp. 3, 19, and 29; not at p. 13, where the action is continuous.

² With such words as these:

O my *Valerio*, we have been both to blame,
The hours of youth, that shou’d have been employ’d,

of Valerio, that the latter even offers to give up Evanthe. Whereupon Alphonso cries:

O thou wast born to recall banisht vertue,
And fix her on her Throne; no, my *Valerio*,
Mayst thou be ever blest in thy *Evanthe*.
Live both the happy Stars of love and honour,
Two lights to guide us in this darker Age.¹

It is certainly curious, in view of the exemplary bent of such passages, to find *The Unhappy Kindness* condemned on the score of immorality. Yet Gildon blames its author for having retained the "greatest Faults" of the original "in the Character of the Wife, whose Behaviour to her Husband, to provoke him to ease her of her Maiden-head, is by no means agreeable to the Modesty of the Sex, which is a Sin against the Manners."² This accusation hit Fletcher harder than his adapter. But Scott's sensitiveness is shown by the conclusion of his preface: "The last Scene in the Third Act had the Misfortune to offend some, who are often more curious than becomes either their Modesty or good Manners; but that Man is in good hands, who has Pride and Affectation for his Judges."³

Genest expressed proper indignation at another passage in the preface. Scott had written: "What with mak-

In the pursuit of never dying glory,
And spent i' th' service of our wretched Country,
We have like headless Prodigals permitted
To glide as gentle waters unobserv'd (p. 39).

¹ IV, 2, p. 39. Scott's Valerio must have been very much the good boy in youth (see i, 2, p. 12), and as a matter of fact never fully got over it. Evanthe in iv, 5, of the original had interrupted Valerio to say of the King's imputations, "I believe not, nor ever shall." This is changed in the alteration to "More than I then believ'd, or ever shall." Scott was unwilling that his heroine should have given way to even a moment's doubt as to her lord's uprightness (p. 30).

² *Lives and Characters*, p. 122.

³ As a matter of fact, Evanthe's lines are left almost exactly as they stood: a few verses (less than a dozen in all) are cut or rewritten, in one instance, and one only, for reasons of propriety.

ing some Characters entirely new, and reforming others, I found by that time I had done, I had little or none remaining but the Design." "This is a barefaced falsehood," says Genest, "about half the play is still Fletcher's, particularly the scenes in which Valerio and Evanthe are concerned."¹ The extent of the obligation becomes apparent when we examine Scott's version in detail.²

The entire first act is, indeed, new. In the opening scene Sorano pleads his love to Evanthe, and, when rejected, tells her that the King is also her suitor, and that neither "artful Looks" nor "Woman's Pride" will be of avail against him. Evanthe, left alone, is terrified by this news, and longs for the return of Valerio. Scene 2 shows us Alphonso babbling fantastically to the Queen, his mother.³ Presently, however, she leaves him to his friends, whereupon he at once throws off the mask. There is much debate of his grievances, and plans are laid for vengeance: Valerio's triumph is set for the same day; and they finally determine to strike their blow on the next, which "The Tyrant dedicates to ease, and pleasure."

Sorano has promised Frederick to win Evanthe for him, as the curtain rises for the second act. Their dialogue is rewritten, however, until just before the lady's entrance, at which point Fletcher's initial scene is taken up, with many cuts and some minor alterations. After Evanthe's scornful departure the King and Sorano begin to plot again, and we learn that they have decided to kill Valerio at the first opportunity — Frederick having always en-

¹ II, 105, 106.

² The few scenes which were entirely rewritten make us thankful that Scott rested as heavily as he did on the older play. Yet even where he keeps closest to it he loses many of the finer touches — such as Valerio's plea to Sorano in iii, 2:

Even as

Thou hat'st me, brother, let no young man know this.

³ The Queen of Fletcher's play is called Queen Mother, throughout, and speaks of Alphonso as her son more than once. Yet in iv, 2, p. 34, Valerio still refers to her as Frederick's "loyal wife."

vied him, and now fearing him on account of his popularity. Alphonso, once more raving, comes in with some of the courtiers. Then "A warlike Shout within. The Scene draws and discovers a Royal Throne on which the King places himself, then Valerio enters in a Triumphal manner, being ushered in with a Song."¹ The King bids his general ask a boon, in the good old fairy-story manner, and he begs for the hand of Evanthe. She, reëntering, throws herself into his arms, and Valerio cries that he would give up all his hopes, if he might only be hers "for one short month." The King parts them, and, taking Valerio at his word, propounds the marriage condition — Fletcher's text coming in for use again.² It is then followed, with some modification,³ up to Evanthe's departure to seek help of the Queen. Valerio remains on the stage and discusses the conditions with the courtiers, their dialogue being transferred from ii, 5, of the original, where it had been spoken during the bridegroom's dressing for the wedding. The remainder of the act is an astonishing collocation of widely scattered passages from the old play. In less than two pages Scott draws successively from: ii, 1 (the first two lines); ii, 2 (some fifteen lines);⁴ ii, 1, again (about twenty);⁵ ii, 2, again (lines 2-3); ii, 1, yet again (one line);⁶ v, 3 (about four);⁷ ii, 6 (the last five). There are some lines of Scott's own, besides, and most of Fletcher's are now bestowed upon the remodelled Alphonso as he feigns madness before the courtiers or prepares his vengeance against the tyrant. At the end of the act it is uncertain whether the short Masque of

¹ P. 13.

² I, 2.

³ Alphonso and Pisano, for example, comment apart on the effect of this new development on their plans.

⁴ Lines 6-10, and a condensation of Maria's speech beginning "Death is unelcome never."

⁵ The last seventeen lines of Tony's jesting with the courtiers, and four or five of the earlier ones from the same episode.

⁶ "When I mean to be hang'd . . . 't is the surer contract."

⁷ From Castruccio's speech to the conspirators.

Cupid was retained, or a new masque substituted. The stage direction reads: "Scene draws and discovers the Court seated for the Masque, that ended the King speaks."¹ Presumably a new composition would have been less likely to disappear when the play was published.

The third act is ushered in by a new soliloquy of Sorano's, already mentioned. Valerio enters for the banquet, and the succeeding dialogue is from iii, 2, of Fletcher's play — as usual, however, cut down. Valerio remains on the stage, and is joined, first by Camillo and the courtiers, then by Frederick and Sorano, who resolve, as they come, to take Alphonso's life. From this point to the end of the act, iii, 3, of the tragi-comedy is followed with considerable fidelity. There are, to be sure, one or two transpositions (part of Evanthe's last speech coming from as far as ii, 2)² and some unimportant cuts and additions, but Fletcher's big scene is, on the whole, less tampered with than any other part of the play.

The first scene of Act iv is made up of the interview between Frederick and Cassandra (*Wife for a Month*, iv, 2) with a couple of added soliloquies for the King.³ Scene 2 is the tempting of Evanthe (iv, 3), but Frederick now remains on the stage. Valerio enters, and is only restrained from killing him by reverence for his royalty:

But still he is my Sovereign, and that thought
Pulls back my Sword, and turns the edge against me.⁴

Frederick then takes up the dialogue of the old iv, 2, the two parts of which (interrupted in the original by the Cassandra episode) are brought together. No break en-

¹ P. 19.

² That when Valerio and Evanthe sleep
In one rich earth, hung round about with blessings,
He may run mad.

³ The first, it is worth noting, prepares the audience for the poisoning of Alphonso.

⁴ P. 33.

sues, Valerio remaining on the stage and being joined by Evanthe.¹ Their reconciliation follows, as in iv, 5, of the tragi-comedy. Fletcher had rung down his curtain on the forcible separation of the lovers. Scott, however, refuses to allow Valerio to leave the stage, and brings on Alphonso. The latter chides his companion for neglecting the task of freeing Naples,

For the enjoyment of a short-liv'd pleasure.

Valerio, stung by his reproaches, promises to devote himself to his country's cause. Alphonso then assures him that "there are already Hundreds" armed and in readiness to revolt, and that "the bloody Tyrant" is to be despatched that night.

In the opening scene of the fifth act, Sorano tells Frederick that Alphonso has been poisoned. Sorano had gone to the Queen Mother, and, feigning repentance for his past misdeeds, had persuaded her to give the "rare medicine" he had brought, to Alphonso — to whose health, moreover, the Queen Mother had herself drunk. They determine to kill Valerio, too, unless he will give up Evanthe. Frederick then goes, and Sorano, after giving way to a few sardonic reflections, also departs — as Frederick returns with Evanthe. It should be added that the dialogue for this episode had come about equally from the corresponding scene in Fletcher's last act (v, 3) and from Sorano's gulling of the San Marco friars in iv, 1. Frederick once more woos the lady, and is once more repulsed. An attempted rape is thwarted by the appearance of Valerio. He and the King are about to fight when "Enter Alphonso Cum Suis," with Sorano as prisoner. Alphonso claims the right of combat with Frederick:

Thus then I meet thee tho my Mother bore thee.

(*Wounds Fred.*)

There lie, and mayst thou be forgot for ever.²

¹ Scott inserts a few lines of soliloquy to fill the space between the two episodes.

² P. 56.

Frederick dies penitent. The Queen Mother enters, seeking Alphonso. She too dies — of the poison given her by Sorano. Alphonso lingers in torment, the swirling rant which Fletcher had given his predecessor serving him in his last moments.¹ Valerio will of course succeed to the throne. Sorano had already been sent to the rack before Alphonso's death, and we may assume that his demise was made sufficiently unpleasant.

M. N., *The Faithful General*
(*The Loyal Subject*)

In *The Faithful General*, M. N., "our Poetess," did not retain much more than the empty shell of Fletcher's play. "My Intention at first," she tells us, "was only to revive the Loyal Subject, but afterwards by degrees I chang'd every thing, but the Character of *Archas*, and the Soldiers Fidelity to him; which were the only Parts that induc'd me to chuse that Play. The Episodes are all new form'd; the main Design is alter'd; and the Language is my own; those few Lines excepted that are all distinguish'd with a Note of Quotation;² most of which I have Corrected, Transpos'd, and reduc'd to Measure. Nor need I give my self any trouble to confute the Rumour that is spread thro' the Town, that this is only an old Play with some little Alteration; but shall refer it to the Reader, that by comparing both, he may find what a very small share of this Tragedy belongs to *Beaumont*, and *Fletcher*."³

Gone are Alinda and her amours with the Duke and Olympia, the shepherding of Honoria and Viola to court,

¹ In iv, 4; cf. Scott's apology, p. 204, above. Some passages from v, 3, were also borrowed for the last pages of the alteration, but there are many original lines as well.

² In this she was conscientious.

³ Sig. A6. She goes on to remark, not without petulance: "It is a Fault in Architecture, to build upon an old Foundation; I have had more trouble to clear away the Rubbish, and new Model the Design, than if it had been all of a Piece, and intirely my own; and the Event has sufficiently convinced me how much I was mistaken in my Choice."

the Duke's momentous visit to his general's country house, even the crying of brooms by the soldiers and their mocking of the villainous favorite. Archas and the Duke remain, with Boroskie, Olympia, and the Theodore — the last mentioned now tamed into a conventional stage lover, and affianced to the Duke's sister.¹ To them is added Artimesia, daughter to Archas, and heroic blue-stocking. In the days of her father's prosperity she had fled the poms of court to live at Athens "in learned Solitude." She hastened to return, however, when the news of his misfortunes reached her: only to augment those misfortunes by rejecting all the addresses of her sovereign, honorable and dishonorable.²

It must be admitted — once more — that by these innovations the action of the play has been given something more of unity. Especially do the scenes between Artimesia and the Duke contribute to this: for the fortunes of the father are pretty closely dependent on the compliance or non-compliance of the daughter.³ Indeed, the death of Marcus (Archas) from the tortures inflicted on him by Lycinius (Boroskie) might, we feel, have been averted, had Artimesia chosen love against honor a little sooner.⁴ The subordinate and factitious unities of time and place have not been forgotten. At least, we may assume that the entire action of the play now passes in (or just outside) the imperial palace of Byzantium,⁵ and the time is definitely limited to a single day.⁶

¹ With Lycinius (Boroskie) as lukewarm rival.

² Love and Honor engage in a series of dire conflicts, with Honor, for once, the final victor.

³ See, e.g., ii, 2, p. 22 (the soliloquy of Lycinius); iii, 2, 36; iv, 2, *passim*; v, 1, pp. 59, 60.

⁴ The lady's decision is, of course, revoked, and her suicide crowns the tragedy.

⁵ Where the scene is now placed, with the Great Duke of Muscovia become Galerius, Emperor of the East.

⁶ After the arrival of the posts, Lycinius says:

The *Thracians* come so soon! — Just nam'd this Morning
The *Grecian* General, and e're the Noon
Compell'd to Arm! The Danger is too sudden (ii, 1, p. 15);

The Faithful General was a "first Attempt in Poetry"¹—it is to be hoped, a last also. It is replete with drivelling sentimentality. Miss M. N. was never weary of love making, and had allowed herself two pairs of lovers. Archas had attracted her, as we have seen, and at her hands he becomes such a pattern of "high-flying, passive-obedience Toryism"² as would have awed, or rather disgusted, the bishop's son, John Fletcher.

Thus when Theodorus (Theodore) expostulates at the Emperor's ill treatment of his father, and is immediately arrested in consequence, Marcus approves, crying out:

Hence from my sight for ever,
Thou scandal to my Blood, no more my Son:
Go, by thy Death atone thy injurd Prince;

then, turning to Galerius,

My Son too justly has deserv'd your Anger;
[*Kneels.*

Such Guilt can only be atton'd by Death.
I too wou'd Dye, if I might chuse my Fate,
Rather than bear the Anguish of your Frowns.³

And later in the play he assures his daughter:

Forgive thy Prince, 't is Nonsense in the Phrase;
He cannot wrong thee, since whate'er thou art,
Is all derived from him.⁴

But what appals the reader of this tragedy is its inordinate diffuseness. In the Restoration versions of Beaumont and Fletcher, abridgment is the rule.⁵ But Miss

and Theodorus remarks, just before the banquet:

A Royal Banquet
Prepar'd for us, and all our Friends invited;
When but some Hours are past, since we were shun'd,
Nor must approach the Presence, all Contagious
Confin'd to Home, least we shou'd scatter Plagues (iv, 3, p. 50).

¹ Sig. A4.

² Coleridge, *Literary Remains*, 1836, ii, 304, 308.

³ I, i, pp. 8, 9.

⁴ IV, 2, p. 44.

⁵ Such mangled fare as Tate's *Island Princess* is, of course, unusual. The exigencies of the new staging will account for the practice, but not completely.

M. N. was writing a first play, and under circumstances which were conducive to prolixity: "The Solitude of a Desert, and the natural Inclination I have to Scribbling, fixed me upon this Employment to divert my idle Hours; which together with the want of Experience in the just Measure of a Play, betray'd me into that common Vice of Prolixity; and insensibly spun out every Scene to an insupportable Length. On the Contrary, the Stage at this time Contracts the Drama into such narrow Limits, that I found it impossible to reconcile these Extrems, without cutting off whole Scenes; maiming the Plot, and rendring the Play imperfect in every one of the Characters and Incidents." ¹ The additions, moreover, cannot be held to heighten our sense of reality, or to represent enrichment of any sort. The exuberance is not that of a fresh but uncurbed imagination: Miss M. N. simply enjoyed scribbling, and scribbled on. So her *Faithful General* became a wilderness of some four thousand lines — twice as many as in *The Loyal Subject*. And they are utterly regular ² lines, the beats counted by rule of thumb, the diction that of tragic poetry in 1706. Dyce spoke of the piece as one he "had never seen nor cared to see" ³ — and is to be congratulated both on his intuition and his good fortune.

The *dramatis personae* have all been renamed. The Great Duke of Muscovia is now Galerius, Emperor of the East; Archas is Marus; Theodore, Theodorus; Putskie (or Briskie), Macario; ⁴ Boroskie, Lycinius; and Olympia, Constantia. Burris may be said to have a counterpart in Isidorus. Aventinus (a friend of the Faithful General's), Dameratus (a Roman officer), two creatures of Lycinius, and of course Artimesia, are added; Honoria, Viola, Alinda, and Petesca have disappeared.

¹ Sig. A6.

² There are two patches of rhyme; not one, as Professor Bond states (*Var. Ed.*, iii, 228); the first occurs at the end of ii, 2, pp. 22 ff. (170 lines), the second in iv, 2, pp. 46 ff. (132 lines).

³ VI, sig. B2.

⁴ And is no longer disguised.

Act i begins with antiphonal exposition from the lips of Theodorus, Macario, and Aventinus. Some of their lines ¹ are borrowed from Fletcher's initial scene, but it is ominous to observe that most are original with Miss M. N., and that it has taken her twice as long to cover the same ground. With the entrance of Marcus we are in scene 3 of *The Loyal Subject* — much of which is put into requisition.² Galerius proceeds to cashier his general, but Theodorus now protests so violently as to infuriate the tyrant, who condemns him to death. Lycinius suggests that this is impolitic, and the doom is reversed. But Galerius orders his guard to secure Marus, Macario, and Theodorus "in their Apartments." He then goes. Marus bids "a long Farewell" to his friends: "is going, comes back," and confides to Theodorus the care of Artimesia — now returning from Athens "to claim her Portion in his Sorrows." Isidorus concludes the scene, and the act, with a pious soliloquy.

In the second act, the curtain rises on Lycinius in conversation with his henchmen. He explains his purposes, which are: first of all, to kill off his rival, Theodorus, and all the race of Marus; then, to gain the imperial throne, either through marriage with Constantia or by force of arms.³ Exit, leaving one of his "creatures" to observe the mood of Marus's soldiers. A group of these now come on, and we get a little of their unfeigned joy at the bad news brought by the posts.⁴ Lycinius takes to his bed — as Boroskie had done before him.⁵ Aventinus brings word to the soldiers that Marus has been released and offered the command of the army. They plead with Constantia,

¹ From Theodore's speech, lines 35 ff. Line 12 was also taken over, but without acknowledgment.

² But as always with a good deal of modification.

³ The imperial army on the Parthian borders is commanded by his brother and is favorably disposed for such employment.

⁴ The expression of their joy is, however, sadly bowdlerized.

⁵ *The Loyal Subject*, i, 3.

who now enters, that she use her influence with Marus, which she promises to do:

If all shou'd fail, I know my Death will move him.
This way is sure, I'll force him thus to yeild.

[Shows a Dagger.¹

The second scene opens with a line or two from i, 5, of the tragi-comedy, the outline of which it follows. But no sooner has Marus set out than Lycinius, entering, makes his peace with the Emperor. To the latter, Constantia presents Artimesia. "She offers to kneel, he raises her, and looks fixedly upon her." She meets his advances haughtily; bewildered by her beauty, he all but collapses. Recovering, however, he tells Aventinus to attend Artimesia to the Temple — then "Exit with Attendants and Guards." Aventinus "leads out Artimesia at the other Door," and the stage is cleared for the lovers, Theodorus and Constantia, who hold it for the rest of the act.²

At the beginning of Act iii, "soft musick" is called for. The "Scene draws and discovers a Magnificent Temple, in the midst an Image of Jupiter in Gold, arm'd with Thunderbolts, standing upon a large Pedestal. An Altar flaming with Sacrifice. Priests waiting round it, Crown'd with Gold; Choristers in white on each side in Rows. The Emperor, Constantia, Artimesia, Lycinius, Guards, and Attendants. The Emperor gazes fixedly upon Artimesia, who with Constantia Kneels before the Altar, while the Priests and Choristers Sing. . . . When the Song is ended the Emperor comes forward to the Front of the Stage, followed by Lycinius, still gazing back upon Artimesia, who continues Kneeling, the Priests go from the Altar, and the Scene closes." It is succeeded by rapturous speeches from Galerius (scene 2), with assurances on the part of Lycinius that all women are corruptible where

¹ P. 17.

² As Theodorus is about to follow his father to the war, prolonged farewells and avowels of mutual affection are of course in order.

kings are concerned. Artimesia enters opportunely — babbling not only of “peaceful Hours” and “learned Athens,” but of the Emperor. The interview that follows, amounting to nearly four hundred verses, reaches a climax when Galerius, attempting to ravish her, is balked by a drawn dagger which she threatens to turn against herself. He had, however, overheard her “soft Complaints” as she entered, and now informs her of this. She is torn by conflicting passions, and “Exit Furiously.” Lycinius, who had retired, now appears again — to poison his sovereign’s ear anew. Underlings rush in with news that Marus is returning victorious. Galerius, having promised Lycinius that he may have Constantia, goes out, leaving his favorite to deal with Macario, Theodore’s successor as messenger. With his entrance, we get a considerable patch of Fletcher (though faded in the transference) — ii, 1, of *The Loyal Subject* being adhered to through the humiliation of Marus and the soldiers’ refusal to take the Emperor’s money.¹ Lycinius, remaining on the stage with his creatures, then closes by confiding his plans to them a second time.²

The unusually succinct first scene of Act iv is founded on the talk of Archas’s adherents at the end of *The Loyal Subject*, iv, 2.³ They fear some act of treachery against their master at the forthcoming banquet, and will attempt to thwart it. In the old play, Theodore and Putskie had been prominent here; Miss M. N. had employment for their successors elsewhere, and left the contemplated rising in the hands of Dameratus and, of course, the Ensign. Her second scene is wholly new. Marus and his daughter debate the Emperor’s offers. Artimesia admits her “secret Pangs.” Marus tells her not

¹ Two lines are also levied from iv, 5, 84–86.

² A new scheme, to gain his ends by the help of the ecclesiastical power, the High Priest being a friend, must have proved unsuccessful: at any rate, we hear no more of it.

³ Lines 55–65. A line or so comes from iii, 1, 9–11.

to let the Emperor's threats against him influence her decision,

But still pursue what Glory shall Inspire.

She tells him of evil omens; but he calls them "fantastick Fumes of Melancholy," and leaves her. Thereupon Galerius and Lycinius enter. She still refuses the former's suit, and presently goes out. The Emperor, fearing that she will kill herself, follows. Lycinius, left alone, decides that his next move shall be to inform his master of the existence of the treasure. Theodorus and Macario try to persuade Marus (scene 3)¹ not to attend the banquet. Entering, he had stumbled, and "bled into his Handkerchief," but he insists upon going. The "Scene draws and discovers a magnificent Banquet. The Emperor Seated under a Canopy of State." Marus enters (scene 4), is given the black robe, and is asked to tell where the treasure is concealed. He refuses, and so does Theodorus, to whom the secret is also known. Both are arrested — Galerius railing at them the while — and are presently led off, guarded. This part of the scene thus combines the episodes treated in iv, 5, and ii, 6, of Fletcher's play, each of which has contributed a number of lines.² The act comes to an end with more scheming by Lycinius. He will have the prisoners put to death at once (Marus with every conceivable torment), will poison Artimesia,³ and then, fleeing Byzantium, will join his brother's forces on the Parthian border.

The fifth act borrows nothing from the old play, if we except the idea of Marus's being tortured without his sovereign's knowledge. "Theodorus Bound" is visited by

¹ It parallels *The Loyal Subject*, iv, 4, but is entirely rewritten.

² The first two speeches, moreover, come from ii, 4, 10-14. But Miss M. N. added much of her own, including a whispered conversation between Marus and Theodorus touching the disposal of their trust in the event that Galerius should decide to execute them both.

³ This damnable purpose he fails to carry into effect, for reasons unexplained.

Constantia. She finally consents to live, since he wishes it. Aventinus, entering suddenly, tells them that Artimesia has won over the Emperor, the prisoners are to be released, and Artimesia herself is to have the imperial crown. The Ensign here bursts in with more news: Lycinius will execute Marus immediately; the soldiers have risen, and will try to save him. Scene 2 shows us Galerius "resting under a Canopy of State" while a song is sung "to soft Musick." But Artimesia, when she comes, treats him coldly; and presently Aventinus brings word that Marus has been released by the soldiers, but is dying, and that Isidorus who had tried to protect him, is dead. "Marus mangled and bloody" is brought in. He dies, beseeching Artimesia to marry Galerius, whom he blesses with his last breath. Aventinus now brings some comfort in the tidings that Lycinius, captured by the guard,

Foam'd, Gnash'd, and Rav'd, and Tore his mangl'd Flesh,
And in that rage of Blasphemy expir'd.¹

Proof of his treason had already been given to the Emperor, who now bestows Constantia upon Theodorus. Artimesia remained to be disposed of, and Miss M. N. now proceeds to defy convention. Her heroine can forget neither the dishonor done her race, nor the Emperor's "black Aspersions upon Womankind," and utterly rejects "the loftiest Throne on Earth." Galerius says he will follow her "Thro' scorching *Lybian* Sands, or *Sythian* Frosts."² He weeps, and kneels to her. Love and Honor indulge in a last struggle; then suddenly she "stabs her self twice," and dies, after exacting a solemn oath from Galerius that he will not kill himself. For sixty lines he and Theodorus sing her praises, but finally, after they have remembered to give a bare word or so to poor Marus, the curtain falls.

¹ P. 67.

² P. 70.



BUCKINGHAM, *The Chances*

Swinburne, speaking of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, calls it "at least as superior to *The Rehearsal* at all points as the fifth act of *The Chances* substituted by the author of *The Rehearsal* for Fletcher's original fifth act is superior in force, character, and humour to that hasty and headlong scrawl of a sketch."¹ Without going into the comparative merits of the two excellent burlesques first mentioned, I think there can be no doubt that Buckingham left *The Chances* a much better play than he found it. Through the first three acts Fletcher had worked with unusual zest. A romantic Spanish story which must have delighted him² was being retold with the swiftness and vigor of an adroit technician. Don John and old Gillian, the landlady, were already among his best portraits. The plot had reached its climax, but there was still, in the disappearance of the First Constantia already motivated, and the foreshadowings³ of a Second Constantia, abundant material for recomplication. Yet here he faltered. What remained to be done could not have presented much difficulty. The pursuit of Petruchio's sister might always have led to Antonio's mistress, and *vice versa*, with mutual jealousy on the part of the Spanish students, both of whom would be suspected all the while by Petruchio and the Duke. So in Act iv we have the discovery of the First Constantia's disappearance, attended by bickering and heartburning all round, and the running down of one false scent with the impudent Second Constantia at the end. But in the

¹ *Contemporaries of Shakespeare*, 1919, p. 152.

² *La Señora Cornelia*, one of the *Novelas Ejemplares* of Cervantes. From this, however, he could get little help after the third act.

³ The introduction of the Second Constantia motive is not so well handled as it might be. Antonio could easily have mentioned such a person in iii, 2, while Francisco's soliloquy in iii, 5, leaves much to be desired on the score of clarity.

last act the pursuers are separated but momentarily, and the only interest that remains is how, and where, they shall find the lost lady. The hocus-pocus at Peter Vecchio's probably amused a contemporary audience — which is about all that can be said for it.¹ And as we look back, Langbaine's story comes to mind: how he had read or heard tell that Fletcher used to carry three acts to the players, and, if they accepted these, would "huddle up" the other two.²

Villiers not only perceived the weakness of these concluding scenes but lighted upon a remedy. By scattering the pursuers, the Second Constantia might be kept at large, and then anything was possible. The result is a rapid succession of episodes, enlivened by a fine (if lawless) wit, and rivalling the best of the earlier incidents for sheer dash. There were gains in characterization as well. Fletcher's Second Constantia is on the stage only a few minutes, and her attendant bawd no longer. In that time they are clearly enough sketched as stock characters, immediately recognizable to the audience and by no means undiverting in themselves. Buckingham chose to individualize both, but particularly the bawd, now called "Mother to the Second Constantia." The incongruity of her affectations of precise good breeding is richly humorous in view of her moral situation. There is in her gabbling something of Mrs. Peacham, something of Mrs. Malaprop — though not the single quality for which either of those estimable ladies is remembered. "As I 'm a Christian," she says (it is a favorite expression of hers), "as I 'm a Christian, my Position is; That no true Beauty can be log'd in that Creature, who is not in some measure buoy'd up with a just sense of what is incumbent to the devoir of a Person of Quality. . . . When once a Per-

¹ Don John is entertaining still, as he discusses the subject of devils, or breaks through all ceremonial restraint at sight of Gillian.

² *Account of the English Dramatick Poets*, p. 144.

son fails in Fundamentals she's at a period with me. Besides, with all her wit, *Constantia* is but a Fool, and calls all the Meniaderies of a *bonne mine*, affectation."¹ And this same *Constantia*, who finds that "to have always a remorse, and ne'r do anything that should cause it, is intolerable,"² must be regarded as no unworthy daughter. "Come, pray unmasque," Don John pleads. "Then turn away your face," she replies, "for I'm resolv'd you shall not see a bit of mine till I have set it in order, and then" — "What?" he asks — "I'll strike you dead."³

In short, Fletcher's comedy has been genuinely improved by its Restoration adapter — a somewhat extraordinary thing in itself. And the improvement has been gained by entering fully into the spirit of the original, and applying a simple technical device by which that spirit might be maintained at its best.⁴

Through ii, 3, Villiers follows Fletcher with great fidelity.⁵ There are only slight departures in the beginning of the fourth scene — that in which Don John is employed by Petruchio to carry his challenge to the Duke. But in the ensuing dialogue between Don Frederick and Don John,⁶ it is worth noting, perhaps, that no mention is made of the mysterious lady's being the same *Constantia* whom they "were errant two months after." Instead,

¹ V, 3, pp. 56, 57. In the course of alteration, the landlady undeniably suffered, but we receive sufficient compensation in this second old trot. On the other hand, the degeneration of Antonio into amorous impotence can only be excused on the ground that Don John was to get Antonio's mistress at the end of the play.

² IV, 1, p. 45.

³ IV, 2, p. 47.

⁴ Buckingham's conclusion lacks, indeed, the romantic flavor which distinguished the earlier acts, but in this respect Fletcher's was little better.

⁵ A few lines are cut, here and there (for example, in i, 1, and 8), and there are one or two changes of single words. Note that ii, 2, of the Folios and Buckingham is subdivided in modern editions of Beaumont and Fletcher, so that scene 4 above is scene 3 in the alteration.

⁶ II, 4, 58 ff.

Don John comments whimsically on what Petruchio has told him, and on the possibility that "in time" the lady might "fall to their shares."

The first scene of Act iii is again substantially Fletcher's, up to Don John's repartee with the landlady,¹ where one regrets to see that the latter is deprived of her caustic reminiscences.² The second scene has been curiously treated. The dialogue remains Fletcher's — except for a few cementing phrases of Buckingham's — but is entirely rearranged³ and reduced to prose.⁴ As it stands, Antonio no longer cries for a wench, his song of John Dorrie is not introduced but only alluded to, and his truculent final speech no longer regales us:

Farewell: and if you find him,
The mad slave that thus slash'd me, commend me to him,
And bid him keep his skin close.

The third scene — again verse — is a reduction of the corresponding scene in the original; and the same may be said of the fourth. In the fifth,⁵ on the contrary, we have prose for verse, and some differences, one or two of them worthy of attention. A man is introduced for Francisco to question, and the impropriety of an overheard soliloquy is thus avoided. Also, the Second Constantia is spoken of as accompanied by a woman — a "grave conductress" who "twattled as they went along." Fletcher had ended his act with the reappearance of the Duke and Petruchio,⁶

¹ III, i, 74 ff.

² Perhaps the purpose was to give Gillian a sharper spur to vengeance: she now goes out with "Well *Don John*, the time will come that I shall be even with you." In what is left of the opening dialogue, Anthony replaces Peter. Which servant belonged to which master was something Fletcher left to his noble successor to make clear — by substituting Peter for Anthony in i, 9, Anthony for Peter here and in i, 11, Gillian for Anthony later in iii, i, and by omitting ii, 2, 10-13.

³ The order of the corresponding lines in Fletcher is as follows: 35, 36, 28-34, 2-19, 36-45, 22, 23.

⁴ As was also the latter part of ii, 4.

⁵ Scene 4 is undivided in the old editions.

⁶ III, 5, 54.

interrupting the quarrel of the two students. Villiers adds two more scenes.¹ The first (6) comes in the main from iv, 2, of the older comedy. It is once more prose, which continues to the end of the play. The adapter, curiously enough, still has Antonio send for a conjuror, though the Peter Vecchio episode was not to be utilized. Minor changes are determined by the fact that in the revision Constantia's mother is the chief conspirator against Antonio, Francisco's part being reduced almost to nothing.² The last scene (7) opens with the discovery of the First Constantia's flight, an episode recounted at the beginning of the fourth act of the original. But now the Duke and Petruchio are not convinced by what the students can say in their defence, and a duel is hinted. The scene, thus developed, closes effectively with the concluding lines of Fletcher's fourth act,³ as Don John dismisses the subject with a dry jest, the older dramatist's last contribution to the comedy:

Fred. If she be not found, we must fight

Jo. I am glad on 't, I have not fought a great while.

Fred. If we die —

Jo. There 's so much money sav'd in Lechery. . . .

The new fourth act shows us the Second Constantia and her mother, making for the port. We learn that Constantia had been sold by the old woman, and that she had not found the purchaser, Antonio, to her taste. "This sinning without pleasure I cannot endure," she says, and vows henceforth "to live for ever chaste, or find out some handsome young fellow I can love."⁴ The mother,

¹ Five and six with him.

² It may be worth nothing that here, and in i, 3, Buckingham has transferred the scene from Bologna to Naples. This is perhaps to be explained as due to a misunderstanding of iv, 2, 16, where Antonio's servant says the fugitives have "taken towards the ports." The alteration reads "port," which would not apply to Bologna: another seacoast of Bohemia could not be tolerated.

³ IV, 3, 142-147.

⁴ P. 45.

meanwhile, cannot resist a short halt at a tavern, and Constantia follows her in, determining, however, to seek her freedom. Enter Don John (scene 2), who likes the appearance of the tavern and decides to forego his search for the First Constantia and go in. He meets the Second Constantia coming out. She readily obtains his promise to take her where she may "be secured a while from the sight of any one whatsoever," and they go off together — Don John "in another world" with delight. Frederick is questioning Francisco at the beginning of the next scene (3). Francisco insists that he has seen Don John with Constantia, and Frederick is greatly alarmed. They "step behind this Shop" as Don John and his mistress enter. Don John shows Constantia into a house, and is following when Frederick stops him. A furious quarrel ensues. Francisco, still insisting that John's companion is Constantia, gets a blow for his pains, and runs out. The students fight. A new scene (4) begins as the Duke and Petruchio interrupt them. Frederick declares that he has just seen John "lock Constantia up in that house." John denies it, but will not let them in because of his promise. They threaten a general attack, and old Antonio, now entering, chivalrously takes his part. The newcomer is agreed on as a mediator, and goes in to determine the identity of the lady. A moment or two later, Don John's servant rushes on the stage, crying out that Antonio has "run out o' the back door . . . after the Gentlewoman."

Act v opens with the entrance of Antonio's servant, accompanied by "Constables and Officers" (all drunk, as it happens) in pursuit of the Second Constantia and her mother. That they are on the wrong scent, however, is evinced by the appearance of Petruchio's sister, in the second scene, who tells us that they have just arrested the landlady. Don John enters, looking eagerly for his Constantia, and is too engrossed in that occupation to aid her namesake. The latter, seeing Antonio coming,

takes flight, and Antonio follows. In scene 3 an amusing discussion of the Second Constantia takes place between the mother and a kinswoman. This is interrupted by the entrance of Frederick. After much talking at cross purposes he gets an inkling of the truth and hurries off to make amends for the injustice done his friend. The final scene (4) is launched with Don John overtaking his Constantia. She readily accepts his explanations, and they are going off together when "Enter 1. Constantia, and just then Antonio seizes upon her." A stormy altercation ensues. Finally, the Second Constantia threatens to make certain disclosures, and, to avoid the consequent ridicule, Antonio gives her up to Don John. His money is restored with great affability by the mother, who has come on, meanwhile, with Don Frederick.¹ The Duke and Petruchio appear in company with the landlady, whom they have rescued from the constables. The First Constantia is graciously received by her husband and brother, and Don John then speaks the closing lines.

THOMAS D'URFEY'S *Trick for Trick*

(*Monsieur Thomas*)

Only part of *Monsieur Thomas* was used by the adapter in *Trick for Trick*. For better or worse, he discarded the Valentine-Francisco-Cellide strand.² Thomas himself; his unregenerate parent (now called Sir Wilding Frollick); his mistress (for whom the name Cellide is preferred), with Launcelot (Launce), Dorothea (Dorothy),

¹ Buckingham makes the Second Constantia — not the First — turn out to be the "rare Creature" so long sought by Frederick and John.

² For better, in Dr. Forsythe's judgment (*A Study of the Plays of Thomas D'Urfey*, i, 23), who finds "this portion of the plot . . . rather tiresome"; for worse, according to Mr. R. G. Martin (*Var. Ed.*, iv, 327), because D'Urfey, by removing it, loses "the serious interest of the main plot." What should, I think, be emphasized is that Thomas shone the brighter against just such a background of sombre colors.

Hylas — these survive, or more accurately, are reincarnated; and only as shadows remain Francisco (Franck), that he may be sick, and Valentine, that he may have a house and be visited. D'Urfey, furthermore, finding some of the later scenes not to his taste, stopped levying on the original comedy at all after scene 2 of the penultimate act. He saw fit also to concoct a new beginning as well as a new ending. The result is that Fletcher actually affected only Acts ii, iii, and iv, Acts i and v being pure, or unalleviated, D'Urfey.¹

Act i describes the return of the Monsieur and his reception by Valentine and Franck.² Cellide and Sabina (Alice) conceal themselves, that they may overhear the reformed rake, who proceeds to tell the company that Cellide had gone to a tavern with him the day before, and is about to elaborate the lie when he is interrupted by his mistress. She denies the truth of the story, rates him roundly, and then departs. The second act is made up of the original i, 2, ii, 3, and a patch of ii, 2,³ in that order, with the reading of Tom's letter also introduced — an episode, however, which D'Urfey entirely rewrote. The first scene of Act iii is composed of Fletcher's ii, 4, and iii, 1, while scene 2 follows its counterpart in the old play. Act iv begins with *Monsieur Thomas*, iv, 2, to which is added a little from the beginning of iii, 3.⁴ Then comes an expository scene of D'Urfey's own invention, and his obligations cease with the rest of Fletcher's iii, 3, as *Trick for Trick*, iv, 3.

¹ For a full summary of the plot, the reader must be referred, in this instance, to Dr. Forsythe's *Study*, i, 23-27, though this is somewhat carelessly written. Thus, the concluding speech in Act v, though in a measure ambiguous, will scarcely bear his interpretation that "Thomas rejoices at the idea of being no longer in danger of marriage" (see also below, pp. 230, note.)

² It may be noted here that D'Urfey has converted the verse of the original into prose — the usual practice of the times where comedy was concerned.

³ Lines 30 ff.

⁴ Lines 28-46, not so assigned in Dr. Forsythe's chart (i, 22).

At the opening of the last act, a new character, Cellide's choleric old father, is introduced under the name of Sir Peregreen. Thomas hides in a clothes-press to avoid him, but is lighted upon by accident. He now pretends that Cellide had concealed him there, and Sir Peregreen at once accepts his statement and its implications. To restore her credit, Cellide entices Thomas to her room — the two fathers being hidden to see what happens. Tom and Launce are pounced upon by Cellide's servants, bound, mocked, and beaten. But when these have left the room, Launce escapes and frees his master. They set upon Cellide and Sabina, while Sir Frolick holds Sir Peregreen that he may not interfere. Valentine enters in time to prevent the ravishing of the ladies, who leave in a fury. Valentine forgives Tom for the affront offered to his hospitality, and Tom closes the play with a discourse on freedom and matrimony.

Before we take up the essential characteristic of this alteration, a word or two may be given to the formal side. The omission of what had once been the main plot, whatever its effect on the interest of the play, was undoubtedly an effort in the direction of unity of action. D'Urfey thus falls into line with the better writers of his time, and, if only in this, must receive some measure of credit. It should also be remarked that he has devoted his energies to keeping every step in the development of the plot unmistakably clear. Hence the emphasis on exposition. In *Monsieur Thomas* it was enough for Valentine to ask Hylas how Tom's father did, and for Hylas to reply: "As mad a worm as e'er he was."¹ In *Trick for Trick* we must have a full description: "Why Sir, the Old Knight is three times more debauch'd than he [Tom], encourages him in it, and provides him tutors, to teach him the Arts of Playing, Drinking, and Wenching, sent him to travel, to learn Experience, he had like to have disinherited him

¹ I, I, 140, 141.

t'other day, for breaking his assignation with an Old Whore." ¹ Again, after Tom's fall from his lady's window, Cellide exclaims, "O heaven I 'm undone! she has broke his Neck." And Tom follows with "Ha! is she so pitiful? — I may have a Trick then to recover all yet — Oh my leg, my leg." ² And Thomas is equally obliging in preparing us for his treatment of Sir Frolick: "To him I must be Ananias — Walk thus — Look thus — Spit thus — I have a Plot in't, and you 'l find it your diversion." ³ Apparently the older dramatist had somewhat more confidence in the acuteness of his audience.

It is not easy to speak in measured terms of the change in moral temper which this luckless comedy underwent at the hands of its nefarious adapter. The characters are coarsened and brutalized. Monsieur Thomas — now "the Debauch'd Hypocrite" — is no longer "light as that cloud that flies there" and "blown with every fancy," but a callous and bestial sensualist who at the end of the play turns over a lady, his friend's sister,⁴ to be ravished by the pimp his servant. D'Urfey lays the fault at the audience's door, giving Mohun, the speaker of the epilogue, these lines:

The Poet . . .

Sends me to flatter ye, and beg Excuse,
For the Insipid Errors of his Muse:
He bids me say, the less to show his Guilt,
On the Foundation *Fletcher* laid, he built;
New drest his Modish Spark fit to be shown,
And made him more Debauch'd, t'oblige the Town.
Drink, Rant and Sing, he now takes pains to be
A perfect and accomplish'd Debauchee.
But Criticks . . .

¹ I, 1, p. 3.

² IV, 3, p. 45.

³ I, 1, p. 10. Sir Frolick keeps up his end by saying, just before his first exit, that he shall next be seen with Launce, and is going "to Cudgel him to Mummy" (ii, 1, p. 14). When he reënters, it is of course, "beating Launce."

⁴ Not, as Dr. Forsythe would have us believe, the waiting woman, Lucilla (i, 27). This mistake is a serious one.

I know you 'll cry, Confound this tedious Stuff,
 He has not made the Spark half mad enough;
 He should have been all Air, and th' Mode pursue,
 That is, keep Miss, kick Wife, and Run Men through.

As for the other male personages, it is enough to say that Valentine is more or less Tom's accomplice throughout, that Launce has become the conventional French pimp of the time, that Sir Frollick gleefully holds the father when Tom would rape the daughter. Of the group of "pleasant English girls not too squeamish, not at all afraid of love-making . . . but true-hearted, affectionate, and of a sound, if not very nice morality,"¹ Cellide is now a mere madcap; Sabina is shadowy, and except for her bawdy Scotch song,² a practically mute female; and Dorothy is the spiritless and unprotesting agent of her brother's pleasures.³

What has been said of the characters holds true of the episodes. That of the physicians has lost its subtlety with the omission of the concluding lines of ii, 4 (lines which might have come from Molière), while humor is found in the idea of a Doctor's being "stript and laid upon a Grid-iron . . . then by an instrument of his own Barber, his Nose being slit, incis'd, his Mouth gagg'd Open, and his most bawdy excremental Tongue — bray'd in a Mortar — to Powder."⁴ Similarly, to Launce's account of his master's night adventures, is added: "Another [fellow] peeping out with his greasie Night-Cap on, and a torch pop't in 's face to clear his eye-sight."⁵ So again, the effect of Thomas's feigned madness is now lost, not by the over-eagerness of the young scapegrace, but by the en-

¹ Saintsbury, *Elizabethan Literature*, p. 257.

² *Trick for Trick*, ii, 1, p. 16.

³ Cellide, recognizing this, contrives to have her present at Tom's discomfiture, soliloquizing: "Rare sport indeed — as I will order it — for his Father, and Sister to be by — when I put the Trick upon, will be a rare venture" (v, p. 56).

⁴ III, 1, p. 27.

⁵ IV, 1, p. 35.

trance of Launce with news that he has procured, as directed, "a couple of the finest Black fat Whores."¹

Such instances might be added to almost indefinitely. The treatment of the serenade scene is perhaps sufficiently characteristic to stand for the remainder. In it, Hylas now plays the "Jeffery Bo-peep" (or peeping Tom) for the edification of all, and while so doing, and when the narration of what he observes is nearing its climax, a "Maid within shoots a squirt of blood in 's face, and lets off a pistol."² Thomas then climbs, not once but twice, his first venture being thwarted by Sabina, who "throws down a Scuttle upon him." Add that Valentine, who now accompanies the hero as an onlooker, makes no attempt to save Cellide, though she is his guest; and that the scene closes with Tom's exacting the help of his servant to curse Cellide.

THOMAS D'URFEY, *A Commonwealth of Women*
(*The Sea Voyage*)

The romantic story which runs through Fletcher's comedy was recast by D'Urfey. Albert, its hero, and the somewhat colorless Raymond, brother of his beloved, had been of the piratical persuasion³ — Frenchmen, to boot. D'Urfey converted Albert to honesty, made him an Englishman, and, thus qualified, retained him as a hero. Raymond he dispensed with altogether. As for Aminta, she has become Roselia's daughter,⁴ stolen in in-

¹ III, 1, p. 30. In the same vein, Sir Frolick's prospective wife, a prostitute, is brought on the stage and made much of.

² IV, 3, p. 44.

³ Raymond's long speech in *The Sea Voyage*, v, 3, seems to indicate that they themselves were not directly concerned with the persecution of the Portuguese — at least, "their fathers' crimes" loomed larger than their own.

⁴ The elimination of Raymond, and the closer connection between the two groups of characters, made, on the whole, for unity of action. The second change, moreover, added a thrill to the recognition scene; for which reason, I suppose, Aminta, though she already guesses the truth, makes but a feeble attempt to reveal it at a time (v, 1) when such a disclosure might

fancy by a certain atrocious La Mure. This villain, out of spite at the escape of poor Sebastian, had marooned Aminta's mother and sister. But Aminta herself he had carried with him to London, and now, after many years, he persecutes her with his amorous addresses. A very pirate, — worse still, a Frenchman speaking broken English and swearing "Begar,"¹ — he takes his place at once as a most acceptable villain made up of just those qualities which the hero could afford to lose.

For the rest, the emphasis is laid rather on the farcical elements than on the romantic. Aminta, Clarinda, and Albert seem to have interested the compounder of *Pills to Purge Melancholy* far less than the famished cits, the repining servants of Diana.² His treatment of these last is, indeed, very distinctly modified. Fletcher's Amazons, his Crocale, and Hippolita, and Juletta (not, of course, Clarinda) are a bit sensual-minded, perhaps, but by no means unhealthily so. D'Urfey has left them just that. Characteristic of their habitual state of mind is Hippolita's outburst, "Would I were a Whore upon a good account."³ Throughout their scenes the tone is the same, and one perceptibly different from that of their predecessors.⁴

Generally speaking, however, the adapter's treatment was conservative. In the more serious parts of the play, verse has largely been retained. D'Urfey rarely indulged have disarmed her rival. Dr. Forsythe is mistaken in saying that Clarinda in *The Sea Voyage* was not Sebastian's daughter (*A Study of the Plays of Thomas D'Urfey*, i, 56). I, 2, or ii, 3, or v, 4, of that play ought to have made the fact sufficiently clear.

¹ The scrupulous Genest observes: "D'Urfey had not the sense to see that for a Frenchman to speak bad English, and a Portuguese good, in the same play was an egregious absurdity" (i, 446).

² In particular, the long interview between Aminta and her lover, at the end of iv, 2, of D'Urfey's model, was ruthlessly expunged.

³ III, 2, p. 25.

⁴ The fact (noted by Genest, i, 445) that the Amazons are now "represented not as the companions of Roselia but as warlike women whom she found" on the island should, perhaps, be remembered.

in verbal juggling, though he was not loath to rearrange what he took over or to interpolate phrases of his own, with the result that, despite the appearance of the page, very much of the dialogue (except in the new first act) is still Fletcher's. Haines, who spoke the prologue "with a Western Scyth in his Hand," had the impudence to threaten those critics in the audience. "Who think we've not improv'd what *Fletcher Writ*."

Sebastian and Nicusa have not been rechristened in *A Commonwealth of Women*, but Nicusa is now Sebastian's son, not his nephew. Albert is called Marine, Tibald Du-Pont is Du Pier, and the Master of the Ship exults as Boldsprite. Franvil (Franville) remains; Morillat has been defined and given substance as Hazard; Lamure, the usurer, is to be recognized in Frugal, his old name going to the French pirate already mentioned. Clarinda and Aminta are kept as such. There are also several new Amazons — the middle-aged and amorous Menalippe being distinguished from the rest — but Fletcher's lively Crocale is dropped.¹ Finally, the Surgeon remains and a Chaplain is added. But the Chaplain has only some dozen words — an exhortation to prayer in the storm scene — then incontinently perishes, and his demise is calculated rather to excite mirth than mourning.²

The whole first act is D'Urfey's. Aminta, coming masked to Covent Garden, meets Marine. She tells him the full story of La Mure's villainy, and consents to elope with him that night. Marine, Du Pier, and Boldsprite prepare for the adventure, while Frugal, Franvil, and the gambler, Hazard, determine to leave their wives and sail

¹ Julietta (Juletta) and Hippolita have inherited some of her speeches in *The Sea Voyage*, ii, 2, and iv, 2, and Roselia got a line or two more of hers from v, 3.

² "Ay," says Du Pier, "the poor Soul-Broker's gone, he was wash'd, with a Wave, off the Quarter-Deck — I saw his Cassock and he fluttering between Wind and Water, a great while — Well, Peace be with him, he was too good for us" (ii, 3, p. 15).

with them (scene 2). Aminta throws down a casket of jewels to Marine, waiting below,¹ then secures La Mure's keys (scene 3). In so doing, she upsets a looking glass, waking La Mure. The Frenchman sallies forth with his servants. A fight is interrupted by the Constable and watch, all drunk. Marine assures them that La Mure is a notorious Turk. The latter expostulates in his broken English, but the Constable carries him into the house, and Marine promptly makes off with Aminta.

The first scene of Act ii is an abridgment of Fletcher's storm scene,² with some additions of D'Urfey's own, by no means devoid of spirit. Much the same may be said of the next three scenes³ (which represent *The Sea Voyage*, i, 2-4), the changes which do occur being due, for the most part, to the altered background of the play. Marine, to be sure, is no longer wounded. Perhaps the reviser felt that his swimming of the "river fenced with high rocks" was romantic enough in itself.

The opening scene of the third act, in which this episode occurs, is much shortened. Scene 2 opens with display: "The Scene draws off, and discovers a Grotto, and Rosy Bower, plac'd in the midst of a pleasant Country. And Roselia seated high, with Clarinda, Hippolita, Menalippe, Aglaura, Ariadne, Clita, and other Ladies, all drest in Amazonian Habits, plac'd about her."⁴ A song between two Amazons follows, one, it may be noted, which Roselia would not have been likely to allow.⁵ She

¹ Dr. Forsythe (i, 56), notes a general resemblance to *The Merchant of Venice*, ii, 6.

² *The Sea Voyage*, i, 1. The love passages are most reduced. I also note, with regret, that Tibald no longer bids Aminta,

Go, take your gilt prayer-book and to your business;
Wink and die: there's an old haddock stays for you.

³ The first of the three, that between Sebastian and Nicusa, suffered most.

⁴ P. 22.

⁵ This replaces the hunting description, the stag and "black lake," of the earlier play.

addresses her subjects on the excellence of women,¹ while they grumble at having no men. Then, after decreeing that Clarinda shall be her successor, she goes out, leaving the stage to Hippolita, Julietta, and Ariadne. These ladies proceed to deplore their enforced chastity, some of their lines coming from *The Sea Voyage*, ii, 2, but more from D'Urfey's own pen. Clarinda returns with others of the Amazons, and proposes hunting. But at this point Marine enters. They prepare to shoot him, and he asks their pity. The scene then proceeds like its counterpart (ii, 2) in Fletcher's play.² Scene 3 takes up the motive of attempted cannibalism. D'Urfey rewrote the complaints of hunger (by no means for the worse), allowed Marine to take part in Aminta's rescue, then closed, a few lines after. Thus the scene parallels the earlier part of *The Sea Voyage*, iii, 1, whence, even with the modifications indicated, a good deal of the dialogue was taken.

Act iv begins with a scene which may have been suggested by iv, 1, of the old play, but which was completely rewritten.³ La Mure, landing, like Raymond, on the barren island, sees a "Vessel throng'd with people" sailing thence towards the island of the Amazons. He recognizes Aminta on board, and, taking Sebastian and Nicusa with him, sets out in pursuit. Scene 2 is wholly the work of the reviser. A group of the Amazons rejoice at the prospect of getting men,⁴ and quarrel over their respective powers to please. They are succeeded on the stage by Marine and his followers; what succeeds (which I should call scene 3) represents the latter part of Fletcher's

¹ A line or so comes from her long sermon toward the end of *The Sea Voyage*, ii, 2.

² There are some departures. D'Urfey added, for instance, a show of hands on the question of whether the Amazons should take husbands — Roselia, needless to say, finding herself alone in opposing the measure. Clarinda, in an aside, admits her love for Marine, as the scene closes.

³ Except for two lines from v, 3, and these somewhat altered in transference.

⁴ A song ("Cinthia with an awful Power") is introduced for them.

iii, 1. Some introductory passages ¹ — including certain dire prognostications by Du Pier on the fate of his companions at the hands of the Amazons — are D'Urfey's only contribution of any moment.

The last act is more freely treated. Scene 1, which contains the interview of Clarinda and Aminta, owes its idea, and some few lines to iv, 2, of the earlier comedy, though it is very largely rewritten. Scene 2 "discovers Franville washing in a Tub, Hazard sowing, and Surgeon spinning, with Waiters looking over them with Whips." ² Their lamentations are cut short by the entrance of Du Pier and Boldsprite, with a bottle of wine given them by Hip-polita and Menalippe, their jailers. We then have two or three lines from Fletcher (iv, 3), a patch of D'Urfey, and some dozen lines, including part of Tibald's admirable apostrophe to his bottle, from Fletcher's v, 2. ³ Du Pier finally observes his former companions, who are joined momentarily by "Frugal, with a Monkey in's arms, followed by Julietta, who is fondling it." He exults over the wretches, but is led out as Clarinda approaches. Franvil, Hazard, and the Surgeon cringe to her, and hasten to tell their tale of Marine and Aminta, a little of iv, 3, being laid under requisition at this point. Some of the Amazons return (scene 3) and comment on the behavior of their captives. Here *The Sea Voyage*, iv, 2, is again levied on, but with a good many unsavory touches of D'Urfey's own. Then (scene 4) La Mure and his companions, bringing along Sebastian and Nicusa, enter in pursuit of Aminta. Sebastian whispers his son to steal away and throw himself on the protection of the Amazons. Marine

¹ They replace about thirty lines, mostly concerned with Tibald's feeding of the would-be cannibals.

² P. 46.

³ Dr. Forsythe, i, 57, has overlooked the indebtedness both in his mathematical enumeration of D'Urfey's borrowings, and his statement that "certain of Fletcher's scenes, as v, 1, 2, are not used by D'Urfey at all, or only in the most general way."

crosses the stage; then Aminta, looking for her lover. In the darkness she mistakes La Mure for him, and is nabbed. Scene 5 shows us Roselia sending out after the intruders, who are presently apprehended. A general explanation ensues, reaching its climax in the disclosure of Aminta's identity. Aminta is, of course, bestowed on Marine, and another lady (probably Clarinda)¹ on Du Pier. La Mure and his pirates are hustled off to prison, there to await sentence. These last two scenes owe little or nothing to Fletcher.²

THOMAS D'URFEY, *A Fool's Preferment*

(*The Noble Gentleman*)

In *A Fool's Preferment*, D'UrfeY made two important changes in the plot of the extravagant old play he chose to revamp.³ He omitted one episode, the hoodwinking of Beauford into marrying Maria; he materially altered the ending, piling sensation on sensation without thought of probability, and dismissing his audience with a moral flourish.

The first change, the explanation of which may be found in the contemporary insistence on a greater degree of unity than the older dramatists had always attained or sought, is by no means to be deplored in itself, and gives room for developing the characters of the country justice (Cleremont, now called Grub) and his undesigning spouse. The former has become a splenetic, racketsy old

¹ So Dr. Forsythe assumes (i, 61), and plausibly, as Roselia presents her.

² The first two lines of Crocale's speech in *The Sea Voyage*, v, 4, are given Roselia as she welcomes Sebastian.

³ Yet Langbaine had reason to be indignant at the presumptuousness of the Epistle Dedicatory, in which D'UrfeY "arrogates to himself a Play, which was writ by another, and owns only a hint from an old Comedy of *Fletcher's*, when the whole Play is in a manner transcribed from the *Noble Gentleman*, abating the Scene that relates to *Basset*" (*Account of the English Dramatick Poets*, p. 181).

squire, not unlike some of Shadwell's antique boobies,¹ while the latter is given the one delightful touch in the play. Toby (Jacques) has brought word of his master's new dignities. "O Gemini!" she says, "If our Nephew be a Duke, I wonder what I am, Hubby."²

In defence of the other changes little can be said. *The Noble Gentleman* was a farce, it is true, but a farce within the frontiers of the conceivable.³ The last act of *A Fool's Preferment* departs altogether from probability. Without regard to the purpose of the hoax, — that the noble gentleman be kept in town, — D'Urfey's hero is deprived of his honors only that they may go to the Justice, who is promptly shorn of them, in his turn, and Toby is made duke. After this, the peculiar dryness of Fletcher's ending gives place to the packing off of the courtiers to jail, and the solemn repentance of the erring wife.

Perhaps this last step was felt to be necessary for reasons other than artistic. In his Epistle Dedicatory, D'Urfey confesses to having a moral purpose: "I knew *Basset* was a Game, only proper for Persons of great Fortunes; and therefore I thought, that a wholesome Satyr of this kind might have oblig'd some Country-Gentlemen,

¹ Dr. Forsythe, ii, 2, suggests that the character is based on Justice Clodpate in *Epsom Wells*. "Grub's solicitude over his wall-eyed mare, as shown in *A Fool's Preferment*, i, 1, is plainly borrowed from Clodpate's affection for his dapple mare, *Epsom Wells*, i, 1, iii, 1, and elsewhere. Sir Credulous Easy in *Sir Patient Fancy*, i, 1, displays the same sort of solicitude for his horse. Toby, as the name of Cocklebrain's servant, may be borrowed from Toby, Clodpate's man." If we accept the suggestion, it may be supposed that Cocklebrain's refusal to be knighted "A Knight, let me see; a Knight. Sir John *Cockle-brain*. No: it won't do. Besides I have known a Cheesemonger a Knight" (ii, 1, p. 29) was inspired by Clodpate's "A Knight! No, I thank you: why I have known a Fishmonger knighted" (ii, 1). But verbal resemblances between the two plays are few and unsubstantial.

² III, 1, p. 36.

³ Mr. Saintsbury, who has no liking for the play, notes that "the means adopted to gull the hero through successive promotions to rank, and successive deprivations of them (the genuineness of neither of which he takes the least trouble to ascertain), are preposterous (*Elizabethan Literature*, p. 265). But the estimable Monsieur Jourdain was scarcely more inquisitive.

or Citizens of small Estates, whose Wives ne're heeding the approaching Ruin, took only Care, they might have the Honour, to be seen at Play with Quality." ¹ Yet the play had met with opposition. The lovers of basset, as he assures us, took up arms against it, and, to the frustration of his "honest Intentions," informing "their Majesties" that it "was so obscene, that it was not fit to be Acted; when, I can prove, there has not, these seven years, been any Comedy so free from it." As a matter of fact, the consistent and deliberate addition of filth is one of the striking things in his play. For minor changes, having noted that verse has been turned into prose, ² but with less verbal meddling than sometimes occurs, the reader may be referred to the analysis which follows.

Many of the characters were renamed. Mount-Marine is now Cocklebrain; Jacques is Toby; Cleremont is Grub, and he is the Noble Gentleman's uncle instead of vaguely "his cousin." Anthony is called Roger; Chatillion, Lyonel; the First Gentleman ("servant" to Mount-Marine's wife) is Clermont; the wife herself, Aurelia; Chatillion's mistress, Celia; and Cleremont's wife, Philida. Longueville, Beauford, and Maria remain so designated.

The initial scene of the adaptation follows, to some extent, i, 3, of *The Noble Gentleman*. Celia deploras the madness of her lover; ³ he fails to recognize her, and rails pretty much in his old vein. But his madness is now explained as due to "being hindred of his Mistress by the King," ⁴ whereas in the earlier farce he had simply been

¹ Sig. A2 v^o. Langbaine says that the Basset scene (ii, 1) was "borrow'd from a late translated Novel, call'd *The Humours of Basset*" (p. 181).

² Genest has it that D'Urfey "altered some things for the better; in particular he has made the principal character less serious than it was—in Fletcher's play Marine acts like a fool, and in general talks like a man of sense" (i, 463). There is some truth in this, though on the purely literary side the play has lost by the correction.

³ For Shakespearean echoes in this speech and elsewhere, see Forsythe pp. 21, 23, 58, and notes.

⁴ *Dramatis Personae*.

"mad for a wench."¹ The turn his raving takes is consequently a little different, though fear of being thought a traitor still marks it. Scene 2 goes back to the beginning of Fletcher's play, and a good deal of the dialogue is taken over bodily. Grub has been developed, and Aurelia has much to say of the intricacies and fascinations of basset. Most of the first part of scene 3 comes from the same scene in *The Noble Gentleman*. Grub then calls for his barber, and a short and none too savory conversation ensues. Enter Toby with the news that his master is about to sell the five hundred acres, and Grub rushes out, half-shaved, to try to prevent it.²

A game of basset is in progress when the curtain rises for Act 2. Aurelia loses heavily, but will "wheedle her husband and get Flush again within a few hours," and "exit smiling." Clermont, who also loses, proposes to Flea-flint, one of the sharpers, that he take Aurelia — "my Mistress, and the dearest Jewel that e'er unlucky Gamester pawn'd before." Flea-flint refuses, saying aside that he will "make bold to tell the Lady, what a Faithful Spark she has"; but we hear no more of it. Cocklebrain and Grub now enter, and are presently followed by Lyonel. A free-for-all fight takes place, the gamesters being finally driven out. Grub, aided by Toby, persuades Cocklebrain that he is being deceived by his wife; and he resolves to retire to his estate. Grub sets out, satisfied. Aurelia is sent for — and the scene then proceeds about like its counterpart (ii, 1) in the Jacobean farce.³

Act iii shows us Grub welcomed home by Phillida.

¹ I, 2 (Longueville's speech). Genest thinks "D'Urfey's worst fault is, that he nearly spoilt the character of the madman" (i, 464). D'Urfey larded the part with songs, some of which appear in the text and a number more at the end. Henry Purcell probably wrote the music for them (cf. *The Works of Henry Purcell*, xx, iv, 11 ff.).

² This part runs parallel to *The Noble Gentleman*, i, 4, but without verbal obligation.

³ The departures are of little moment — except, perhaps, that by which Cocklebrain is given a "patent" as Duke of Dunstable.

Toby enters in due time, with word that his master has been made duke; and the Grubs will hurry to London, and preferment. *The Noble Gentleman* (iii, 1) contributes much to the later part of the scene. Scene 2 is a reworking of Fletcher's iii, 2 and 4, with a new arrangement of the episodes. Aurelia and her friends discuss the elevation of Cocklebrain, who presently joins them.¹ Almost immediately, however, he goes out to consult "a Book of Heraldry," and Lyonel enters, greatly excited by the talk which has come to his ears, that there is a new duke. Cocklebrain returns with the book, and "the Fool and Madman" are set together to discuss King Henry's title.² The central idea and a few lines come from the end of *The Noble Gentleman*, iii, 4, but D'Urfey has practically rewritten the episode, and by no means for the worse. Cocklebrain, who has got a broken head in the course of the argument, is comforted and invited "to see the city," which he sets out to do, in state.³ Aurelia, left on the stage, receives the letter from Grub's wife;⁴ and, last of all, Celia appears, looking for Lyonel. Aurelia promises to aid her, and says that, if the madman be once taken, she has a physician who can probably cure him. Scene 3 (the acclaiming of Cocklebrain by the citizens, and his attempted harangue) is taken over without essential change from the same scene in the original. The fourth scene opens with a short conversation between Aurelia and Maria on the subject of the Grubs; then the Duke returns, and we recur for a few lines to Fletcher (iv, 4); the scene closes, however, with Cocklebrain and his wife talking of the expected visit of Justice Grub.

With Act iv Grub enters accompanied by Phillida and

¹ As in the beginning of *The Noble Gentleman*, iii, 2.

² The scene of the play is transferred from France to England (with little or no difficulty) and the King appears to be the fourth Henry, though no attempt was made to suggest a contemporary atmosphere.

³ As in *The Noble Gentleman*, iii, 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iii, 4.

Roger. Phillida is excited at what she has seen of the town, mistakes a footman for a fine gentleman, and is generally entertaining; while Roger, though he can neither read nor write, is eager for the post of secretary when his master shall be made a duke. This scene is, in fact, D'Urfey's best contribution to the play.¹ At the beginning of the second scene Toby meets Lyonel. The substance of the dialogue and many of the lines are derived from Fletcher (iv, 3).² At the end, Lyonel, believing that he has been robbed by Toby, proceeds to strip him of his woman's disguise; the unfortunate secretary escapes with much ado, and Lyonel carries off the clothes in triumph. Scenes 3 and 4³ — the admission of Grub and Phillida to Cocklebrain's house, their reception by the Duke of Dunstable, and the separation of the wife from her half-unwilling husband follow the original (iv, 4) with extensive borrowings. Aurelia, it should be added, watches the courtiers closely; and, while they are drawing lots to determine which is to have Phillida, soliloquizes: "Oh! how yon Coxcombs shrugg, and Ogle this new Face already — 'Tis well my fine Fops, I shall have an hour for you too!"⁴

By far the greater portion of the last act is D'Urfey's own. Cocklebrain, musing as to why he has had no word from the country, is suddenly confronted by "Toby in a Blanket," who recounts his sad experiences — Fletcher furnishing some of the lines. When the secretary has gone, Cocklebrain sends Maria to rouse Aurelia; when she comes, he informs her he is for the country. She protests (making the new point that her pregnancy forbids the journey), but in vain, Cocklebrain going out in a fury. Aurelia sends Maria for the courtiers. Grub and

¹ Two or three lines come from its brief counterpart, Fletcher's iv, 1.

² Celia is now accompanied by the Doctor. There are minor differences, mostly to the heightening of the farcical element.

³ Dr. Forsythe's division.

⁴ P. 67.

Phillida enter, and Phillida who has "lain out two whole nights," assures her husband that the gentleman promised he "should be a great huge Man." Toby enters, making hurried preparations for the journey; then rushes off again. Cocklebrain and Aurelia appear in their turn. They are stopped by Clermont and Longueville, who proceed to deprive the fool of all his titles — Fletcher again contributing to the dialogue. But now they turn to Grub, and "that the honors may remain in the family" make him duke. Greatly elated, he condescends to offer Cocklebrain his influence to "get him into the Guards, or somewhere." Toby reënters with news that the coach is ready, and, failing to recognize the metamorphosis which has taken place, is threatened by Grub with being tossed in a blanket. Thereupon Beauford appears with word that a mistake has occurred and that "this Noble Gentleman [Toby] is now the Duke." The final turn begins when Aurelia, who had gone out a few minutes before raging with jealousy, reënters with the Usher of the Black Rod. He immediately arrests "the Duke-makers," who must appear before the King and Council, with fines and imprisonment ahead of them. A dance — begun for no discoverable reason by Grub, Cocklebrain, and the rest — is interrupted by Lyonel, who enters "in a mad posture, with Celia, Doctor, Singers and Dancers." He is led off again, but the Doctor gives hope of his recovery. Aurelia kneels to her husband, promising henceforward to be a good wife, "and no more to heed the senseless Fopperies of the Town, nor the more senseless Fops remaining in it."

SIR JOHN VANBRUGH, *The Pilgrim*

According to Coleridge, *The Pilgrim* "holds the first place in Beaumont and Fletcher's romantic entertainments, *Lustspiele*, which collectively are their happiest performances, and are only inferior to the romance of

Shakspeare in *As You Like It*, *Twelfth Night*, &c.”¹ He was thinking, when he wrote this, of Alinda’s interview with her father (iv, 2), and of the “truly excellent” scene with Roderigo which follows. And whatever may be our opinion of the threefold dictum here expressed, there can be no disagreement as to the poetic beauty, the tenderness, and the tranquillity of these and other passages.

Needless to say, the creator of Sir Tunbelly Clumsey and Sir John Brute was no romanticist. Nor was his revision calculated to bring out those qualities in the play which made Coleridge commend it so warmly. Prose had become the accepted language of comedy, and into prose Vanbrugh diligently translated Fletcher’s verse. Moreover, while he retained, and touched up, the rough-and-tumble farce of the madhouse scenes,² he was elsewhere ready enough to cut. Thus, towards the end of the second act he abridged the fiery exchanges between Roderigo and the pilgrim, reduced the latter’s long harangue of the outlaws to a very few lines, and dropped his plea for burial altogether. But an examination of the following lines will show, better than much description, what Sir John was doing. Pedro, addressing his enemy, had asked:

Is it my life thou longs’t for, Rodrigo?
 And can no sacrifice appease thy malice,
 But my blood spilt? do it thyself, despatch it;
 And, as thou tak’st the whole revenge upon thee,
 Take the whole sin upon thee, and be mighty,
 Mighty in evil, as thou art in anger;
 And let not these poor wretches howl for thy sake:
 Those things that in thine own glass seem most monstrous,
 Wouldst thou abuse their weak sights with, for amiable?
 Is it, thou think’st to fear me with thy terrors,
 And into weak condition draw my virtue?

¹ *Literary Remains*, ii, 315.

² Charles Gildon’s *Essay on the Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage* has: “*Beaumont and Fletcher* have perform’d abominably in his *Mad-House* in the *Pilgrim*, and our Modern Alterer of that Play has increased the Absurdities.” (*Works of Shakspear*, 1710, vii, p. xxxiv.)

If I were now to die, I would sue to thee;
 Or did I fear death, then I would make thee glorious;
 But knowing what and how far I can suffer,
 And all my whole life being but death's preface,
 My sleep but at next door — ¹

Vanbrugh changed this to: "If 't is my Life alone thou want'st, why with thy own curst hand dost thou not take it? Thine's the Revenge; Be thine the Glory: Engross it to thy self, take the whole sin upon thee, and be Mighty in Evil, as thou art in Anger. And let not those poor wretches howl for thy sake." ² The essential idea is retained by a fairly close paraphrase of the beginning of the speech. The repetition and expansion of the idea are discarded, not without loss in the emotional value of the whole.

There are many excisions, also, in the second scene of Act iv. Vanbrugh had taste enough to retain the interview between Roderigo and Alinda, and even the latter's song; but the long speeches of Pedro and Roderigo at the end of the scene — speeches on which Fletcher had bestowed all his powers of rhetorical display ³ — are sadly mutilated.

Finally, the scene of the fortunes in Act v — and in particular the forest description — suffered from the same methods. The last three speeches before the entrance of the soothsayers are represented by less than three lines: "Hark! more Musick!" says the new Pedro; "'Tis here again! Hark! gentle Roderigo! O Love! What fuel's this to feed thy Flame? O Alinda." ⁴

Yet it must not be supposed that Vanbrugh's treatment was radical. Old Alphonso, to be sure, has been made somewhat more choleric. Perhaps the reviser felt that this was necessary in view of the severe punishment

¹ II, 2.

² P. 13.

³ The ethics of duelling seem to have been of peculiar interest to Fletcher: witness *The Little French Lawyer*, *A King and no King*, *The Nice Valour*, *The Lovers' Progress*, etc.

⁴ P. 37.

meted out to him in the concluding scenes. But it is only with regret that one sees him deprived of his remark on the supposed fool (" 'T is pity this pretty thing should want understanding"),¹ or of his bearish acceptance of things, at the end of the play:

Well, well, since wedding will come after wooing
Give me some rosemary, and let's be going —

a closing on just the right note. I may add that his soliloquy in the third act, when he is terrified by Juletta's drum, has been given a new and uncalled-for touch of brutality not be forgiven on any score: "But hark: hark, I say: ay; here they come. That I had but the Strumpet [Alinda] here now, to find 'em a little Play while I made my escape."²

The remaining characters show no consistent divergence from their prototypes. Juletta's part has been considerably reduced, not without loss. Fletcher was careful to keep her motive clear:

He's my master;
But that's all one, I'll lay that on the left hand:
He would now persecute my harmless mistress,
A fault without forgiveness, as I take it,
And under that bold banner flies my vengeance.³

Vanbrugh took less pains, and in one or two places he added a little to her vindictiveness.⁴

¹ IV, 1.

² P. 21. In v, 3, one of the citizens, speaking of Roderigo's outlaws, is made to say: "They are none of your nice ones. My poor Mother's Four-score and odd, and she made shift to get her self ravish'd amongst 'em" (p. 36).

³ IV, 1. The speech was cut in the later version.

⁴ In the last scene in the play, she had said to Alinda:

They are all here, Madam:
No violence dare touch here; be secure:
My bilbo-master too! how got he loose again?
How lamentably he looks! he has had discipline.
I dare not let him know my pranks.

The adapter changed this to: "My old *Bilboa* Master, o' my Conscience. How in the name of mischief got he out? but they have pepper'd him I see. That's some Comfort" (p. 40).

Vanbrugh's positive contributions are not many. In the opening scene of the second act, a stammering servant is introduced for Alphonso to question, and in the second madhouse scene (iv, 1) a Tailor is appended to the Englishman, the Scholar, and the Priest; but this personage was not much developed. Finally, v, 5, was expanded, Alphonso being led out by the keeper and restored to his friends. His remarks on the occasion are not without drollery.¹

Dryden furnished a prologue, an epilogue, and a Secular Masque, but these in no way concern us. "A Song of a Scholar and his Mistress, who being Cross'd by their Friends, fell Mad for one another; and now first meet in Bedlam," printed at the end of the adaptation, is also his. At what point in the play it was introduced is uncertain. Sir Walter Scott suggested that it might have occurred just after the Scholar's raving in iii, 7.² Another guess would be that it was sung during the intermission between Acts iii and iv.

GEORGE FARQUHAR, *The Inconstant*

(*The Wild-Goose Chase*)

"To give you the History of this Play," wrote Farquhar in his preface to *The Inconstant*, "would but cause the Reader and the Writer a trouble to no purpose; I shall only say that I took the hint from *Fletcher's Wild Goose Chase*; and to those who say, that I have spoyl'd the Original, I wish no other injury, but that they wou'd say it again." In the epilogue by Nathaniel Rowe, it is again only "the hint" which is acknowledged as being "from

¹ For the same quality, witness the following (iii, 7, p. 22):

1 *Keeper*. How is't with the Scholar?

2 *Keeper*. For any thing I see he is in's right Wits.

1 *Keeper*. Thou art an Ass; His Head's too full of other Peoples Wits, to leave room for his own.

² *Works of Dryden*, 1808, viii, 447.



ROBERT WILKS

Fletcher's great Original." There is some disingenuousness here. For, as far as the contour of the plot is concerned, with the essential relations between character and character and the dominant coloring of the whole, Farquhar is under direct obligation almost to the end.

At the same time one must admit that he modified and renovated so many things that any accusation of plagiarism — at least in its coarser or burglarious forms — would be unjust. At the lowest estimate, seven of Farquhar's sixteen scenes are wholly his; and three or four of the others are so expanded or recast as to bear very little resemblance to their counterparts.¹ There are changes, besides, in the main design. Lillia and Rosalura are replaced by one character, Bizarre, who lives under the same roof with Mirabel's father. That worthy old man thus represents in his own person both La Caste and Nantolet.² Mariana and the quaint Lugier have disappeared,³ and the Wild-Goose's two fellow-travellers are reduced to one. Petit, on the other hand, and Lamorce ("Woman of Contrivance" and heroine of the last act) are Farquhar's creations.

A comparison between the two plays raises more than one question of dramatic values. Farquhar sought unity by emphasizing a single element, Oriana's pursuit of Mirabel. Duretete and Bizarre were to furnish the underplot to this, and are rigorously kept in their places. With the action thus simplified, there is more room to develop character and to render probable the episodes that are kept. Finally, in accordance with the taste of the time, Fletcher's verse gave place to prose.

The Wild-Goose Chase remains the better play. It shows, indeed, a finer unity, which Farquhar chose to ignore. For Mirabel is continually giving aid and counsel

¹ Especially, i, 2, and iii, 3 and 4.

² In iii, 3, he also replaces De Gard as Oriana's suitor.

³ Petit succeeds to some of Lugier's functions as well as those of the foot-boy and Lillia's servant.

to his henchmen against the "Airie Daughters of Nan-tolet," who, in their turn, are allied with Oriana for the humbling of the "travelled *messieurs*." And thus a regular war of wits is evoked, not a mere sequence of duels. As for characterization, Farquhar's Old Mirabel is an admirable creation, but with the rest Fletcher more than holds his own. Oriana may perhaps have been improved, but Bizarre falls far short of her light-hearted grandmother, and the second Mirabel is not so engaging a rascal as his ethereal namesake. Farquhar did little to improve the motivation; and what gain there is in portraying character — and his Old Mirabel must not be slighted — he paid for elsewhere, in variety of incident. In the older comedy the pace is unflagging. Mirabel and Oriana are whisked off before we have begun to tire of them, and in their stead we are shown Lillia or Rosalura, taming her master-to-be, and Lugier and De Gard concocting a new conspiracy. While the whole play is given an added vivaciousness by the rollicking festivities of Fletcher's verse.

In *The Inconstant* the curtain rises on Dugard (De Gard) back from his travels, as at the beginning of *The Wild-Goose Chase*. He sends his servant to order dinner, and talks of his companions to Old Mirabel and Oriana. At the end of the scene Dugard turns over his servant, Petit, to Oriana. Scene 2 shows Mirabel and Duretete in the tavern. Their talk follows that of the Wild-Goose and his friends in Fletcher's corresponding scene. The question of marriage is not, however, broached, and there are supplementary accounts of Dutch and English women. Old Mirabel joins them, and, when he asks how they liked Chiari, they give him a facetious account of the recent battle there, of course from the French side. Old Mirabel then invites them to his house, mentioning the two ladies there, and promising to "be as merry as the best of you."

At the beginning of the second act Oriana and Bizarre talk gaily of contracts and lovers. Old Mirabel, joining

them, asks: "Well! which of you two will be my Daughter-in-Law now?"¹ Mirabel and Duretete come in at this point. Mirabel flatly refuses to marry either, but Duretete is charmed by the "rare pedantry" of Bizarre, and his friend encourages him to court her. Old Mirabel, Oriana, and Bizarre have gone out meanwhile, and Duretete now leaves the stage to Mirabel. Oriana reënters, and they indulge in a lively skirmish on the subject of the contract. Essentially then, Farquhar has condensed two of Fletcher's scenes (i, 3, and ii, 1) into one;² but in so doing he lost something of naturalness, his exits, especially, being purely arbitrary. The remaining scene (2) represents the dialogue between Pinac and Lillia (Fletcher, ii, 2) with only two variations: Mirabel is not present, and Duretete, at the end, kicks Petit by way of vengeance.

In Act iii the similar defeat of Belleur (ii, 3) has been done away with, and the curtain rises on Old Mirabel vainly urging his son to marry Oriana. A short dialogue follows between Old Mirabel and Dugard, in which the former defends his son. Bizarre and, somewhat later, Petit join them. Petit asserts that Mirabel is in love with Oriana, and they plot "to stir up his Jealousy." The second scene does not advance the action. Mirabel meets Bizarre and reads Virgil at her with "humorous Impertinence" while she scolds. Scene 3 discloses Petit who "runs about to every door, and knocks." Mirabel enters, and Petit tells him that Oriana is about to be married to "a Spanish Count." Old Mirabel appears, so disguised; but Farquhar's hero, instead of being intimidated, trips up his heels, takes away his sword, and strikes him. Old Mirabel cries "I'm your Father, sir, your Father," but the young rogue calls him a "Miracle of Impudence" to

¹ P. 14.

² The chat between Oriana and Bizarre replaces Lugier's commendation of his pupils, and De Gard's threatening of Mirabel has been cut out.

say so, and continues to bully him till he is rescued by Dugard, Oriana, and Petit. For all that, when Dugard takes up the quarrel and draws his sword, the amiable old man draws in his turn. Oriana prevents bloodshed by pretending to faint, and Young Mirabel goes out. Petit then proposes a new plot, which is liked by all concerned. In the last scene (4) Duretete drives off two gentlemen who, he thinks, are laughing at him; and Mirabel soliloquizes on the advantages of having a coxcomb as one's companion. Duretete's scene represents one episode in Fletcher's third act, while the Spanish Count is a direct descendant of the Duke of Savoy's nephew. But here the resemblance ceases.

Farquhar's fourth act is introduced by two new scenes. Oriana pretends to enter a nunnery, whereupon Mirabel "turns monk," hears her confession, and vows repentance himself. Old Mirabel, however, fearing that he has lost his son, breaks in upon them. "Where's this Counterfeit Nun?" he cries; and the Wild-Goose takes to his wings. Scene 3 discovers Duretete reading a penitent letter from Bizarre, who follows it in person. The amusing dialogue which ensues is derived from that between Belleur and Rosalura at the end of *The Wild-Goose Chase*, iv, 2. Needless to say, Duretete is completely routed. The last scene (4), in which Oriana feigns madness, is again from *The Wild-Goose Chase* (iv, 3), but it ends with a resolution on Mirabel's part to go abroad again.

Act v is almost entirely original with Farquhar. "The turn of the plot" by which Mirabel, enticed by Lamorce to her lodgings, is rescued from desperados by the acuteness of a faithful page (Oriana of course) was, if we may believe the preface, founded on fact. It takes up all of the first two scenes and most of the fourth. Scene 3, however, between Duretete and Bizarre, harks back to the gay dialogue of Nantolet's daughters and the young men, at the end of the earlier comedy. The three new scenes fall into

a class by themselves. Their spirit is no longer that of high comedy, but a bit didactic and undeniably sentimental.¹ Moreover, the adventure on which they were founded, though fine theatrical stuff in itself and admirable for a story-play, was not quite right for *The Wild-Goose Chase*.²

Mirabel *père* is the outstanding character in Farquhar's play. La Castre and Nantolet are likable old men, as far as they go, but are never individualized for a moment. Old Mirabel, on the other hand, distinguishes himself at his first entrance by the unfeigned joy he shows at the news that his son has ordered an extravagant dinner. Later in the act, he bursts in upon the company with "Where's Bob, dear Bob?" and as the latter kneels for his blessing, he cries: "Dam' ye you Young Rogue; why did not you come to see your Father first, Sirrah? My dear Boy, I am heartily glad to see thee, my dear Child, faith — Captain *Duretete*, by the Blood of the Mirabels³ I'm yours, well my Lads, ye look bravely, efaith. — Bob, hast got any Money left?"⁴ These characteristics — heartiness, and affection for his son — never fail the old fellow. In the first scene of Act iii, after having been outwitted by Bob, and again in the third, when injury has been added to insult, he is yet ready to take Young Mirabel's part against the truculent Dugard: "Lookee, Mr. *Dugard*," he tells him, "good words go farthest. I will do your Sister Justice, but it must be after my own rate, no body must abuse my Son but my self. For although *Robin* be a sad Dog, yet he's no body's Puppy but my

¹ Cf. Schmid, *George Farquhar*, p. 204, who draws no distinction, however, between the last act and the four which precede it.

² "At any rate, it forms a most effective outcome for the play, even if it does change the general atmosphere from a leisurely picture of manners and customs to bustling intrigue and melodramatic action" (H. T. E. Perry, *The Comic Spirit in Restoration Drama*, New Haven, 1925, p. 113).

³ This oath of his is almost as often repeated as Young Clincher's "By Jupiter Ammon," in *The Constant Couple*.

⁴ I, 2, p. 10.

own.”¹ And whatever his name, he is a true Englishman. Duretete tells him, early in the fourth act, that Bob has turned monk and settled his estate upon the church: “The Church!” he cries, “Nay then the Devil won’t get him out of their Clutches. — Ten Thousand Livres a Year upon the Church! ’tis downright Sacri-lege.”² Towards the end he grows discouraged. “Was ever an Old Fool so Banter’d by a brace o’ Young ones?” — this to Bob and Oriana — “hang you both, you’re both Counterfeits, and my Plots spoil’d, that’s all.”³ But after his son’s rescue he is himself again: “Tall, all, di, dall [*Sings*] kiss me, Daughter — No, you shall kiss me first [*to Lamorce*] for you’r the cause on’t, well *Bizarre*, what say you to the Captain?”⁴ It is no more than his due to say that this old gentleman would still have been worth noticing in a company which included Sir Oliver Surface.

Young Mirabel is unworthy of his father. Less buoyant and far more conventional than the Wild-Goose, his prototype, he fails to win our sympathy as the latter does. There is no more of the rake about him, less perhaps,⁵ but there is a good deal of the cad — and I am thinking now, not of his relations with Oriana, but rather of those with some of the other personages. He makes game of his father⁶ (a tempting subject, it must be owned), keeps Duretete for his companion because “a man of sense is as melancholy without a Coxcomb, as a Lyon without his Jackall,”⁷ and even goes out of his way to be insolent to Bizarre, who calls him, nevertheless, “a dear, mad, deceitful, agreeable Fellow.”⁸ Finally, we miss the human touch in the last scene of Fletcher’s play — six words worth a dozen confessions of penitence:

¹ III, 1, p. 31.

² IV, 1, p. 42.

³ IV, 2, p. 48.

⁴ IV, 4, p. 83.

⁵ He is not allowed his book of conquests — such as Leporello carried for Don Juan, and Fletcher’s Mirabel for himself (*The Wild-Goose Chase*, ii, 1).

⁶ II, 1, and iv, 4.

⁷ III, 4, p. 42.

⁸ III, 2, p. 35.

Belleur. Did not I say she would cheat thee?

Mirabel. I thank you: I am pleas'd you have deceiv'd me;
And willingly I swallow it, and joy in 't;
And yet, perhaps, I knew ye.

Farquhar's hero can only be sententious at the end, descending to the footlights to contrast Oriana's virtue with "the Foil [*pointing to Lamorce*] that sets this brightness off." ¹

Neither dramatist could do much with Oriana. The genial adapter recognized some need of bolstering up the part, and tried hard to do so. Thus, in his heroine's first scene with Mirabel ² one feels the influence of a certain Millamant, Congreve's ineffable creation of the year before; while in the concluding episode — founded on "an adventure of the Chevalier de Chastillon" ³ — there is reminiscence of Wycherley's Viola. The result is not a happy one; nor can we feel anything but regret for the change by which Oriana's shame at the disclosure of her pretended madness is replaced by an hysterical threat to "run into a real Madness." ⁴

For the rest, Dugard remains a colorless figure; Du-retete is well enough sketched, but much more of a fool than Pinac; Bizarre does not deserve to be mentioned in the same breath with Lillia and Rosalura.

ANON., *Wit without Money*

The "Alterations and Amendments" contributed to *Wit without Money* by certain unidentified ⁵ "Persons of

¹ P. 84. In the "Remarks" prefixed to Oxberry's edition of *The Inconstant* (1820) a reason is advanced which may go deeper than mine: "The hero of *The Wild Goose Chase*, is the creation of poetry; in taking away his wild but poetical costume, Farquhar has reduced Mirabel into a something which is neither real nor poetical; a sculptor might as well think of reducing the height of a statue by cutting off its head" (p. i).

² II, 1.

³ Sig. A4 v^o.

⁴ IV, 4, p. 65.

⁵ The dedication is addressed "To my very Good Friend Mr. Thomas Newman . . . Book-Keeper and Prompter to her Majesty's Company of Comedians at the Haymarket."

and allusions which were no longer readily understood, are either omitted or replaced by their contemporary equivalent. Thus the Mermaid yielded place to the Rose Tavern, and the ordinaries became chocolate houses.¹ The Persons of Quality even displayed some skill in conjectural emendation, and lighted upon one or two readings which later editors have given themselves credit for discovering.² But, although the added lines are so few in number as to be all but negligible, the adapters felt at liberty to make cuts in the dialogue throughout the play. And *Wit without Money* was a somewhat dimmer, more prosaic comedy when they left it.³

COLLEY CIBBER, *The Rival Fools*

(*Wit at Several Weapons*)

"Whenever I took upon me, to make some dormant Play of an old Author, to the best of my Judgment, fitter for the Stage, it was honestly, not to be idle, that set me to work; as a good Housewife will mend old Linnen, when she has no better Employment."⁴ So wrote the jovial apologist, many years later. His prologue is, in some respects, even more ingenuous:

From sprightly *Fletcher's* loose Confed'rate Muse,
Th' unfinish'd Hints of these light Scenes we chuse,
For with such careless haste his Play was writ,
So unperus'd each thought of started Wit;
Each Weapon of his Wit so lamely fought,
That 't wou'd as scanty on our Stage be thought,

¹ II, 4, 67, 150; iii, 1, 212.

² "Wedding-colours" in i, 2, 35; "wild" in iii, 1, 115; and "missed" in v, 4, 29, which Mr. McKerrow suggests may be the right reading.

³ The two principal cuts — always excepting the beginning of v, 4, already mentioned — are in the opening speeches of i, 1, and i, 2. The episode of Valentine's boots (iii, 4) is also omitted, as is his vigorous speech to the widow at the end of v, 4. Besides some few added lines occasioned by the alterations in the last act, the revisers contributed rhymed tags at the end of Acts iii and iv, but, I believe, nothing else.

⁴ *Apology*, 1740, p. 217.

As for a modern *Belle* my Grannum's Peticoat.
 So that from th' Old we may with Justice say,
 We scarce cou'd cull the Trimming of a Play.
 All cou'd be made on 't is but *Dishabille*,
 'Tis loosely light, all *Falhala* and Frille. . . .

This Play's — All Fool,
 So clear of Sense, and garnish'd with Grimace,
 That wisely it depends for its Success
 On dangling *Bullock's* grin, and *Pinky's* Face.

That is to say: 'let us not pretend that this is any reverend antiquity; it was nothing but a farce, and a farce I have left it' — only, as it proves, a somewhat better farce than it was before.

In particular, Cibber made the exposition clearer throughout, heightened whatever amusement was to be got from Sir Gregory and Credulous,¹ and recast the concluding scenes, the weakest part of a weak play. Prose has again replaced verse, but this time for the better; for Fletcher's lines (if they be his) sagged badly at times, and the piece itself seldom demanded lyrical expression. With these things in mind, we may turn to some examination of the changes scene by scene.

Cibber renamed a number of the characters. Sir Perfidious Oldcraft has become Sir Oliver Outwit, his son, Wittypate, being known as Young Outwit. Sir Gregory's patronymic is now Goose, not Fop, while Sir Ruinous Gentry is rechristened Threadbare. Pompey Doodle is called Samuel Simple, and the anonymous Niece to Sir Perfidious is called Lucinda. Cunningham, Priscian, Mirabel, and the Guardianess remain as such; but Mirabel is now daughter, and not niece, to the Guardianess.

Fletcher's opening scene was taken over about as it stood. And a paraphrase of that "most seriously and odiously revolting passage" in which Sir Perfidious

¹ Professor Croissant's emphasis on "the transformation of Pompey Doodle into Samuel Simple" seems to me distinctly misleading (*Studies in the Work of Colley Cibber*, p. 23).

"boasts to his own son of his early successes as a professional pimp, and his later gains by the robbery and ruin of little children confided to his guardianship,"¹ still adorns it. Sir Gregory stands out more brightly. He now enters, listening eagerly to Cunningham as the latter relates how, "finding himself desperately in love with this lady, and ten thousand times more so, when he heard she was to be married to another; he saw at last there was no hope of his ever speaking a word to her, but by even tacking himself as a miserable companion to the impertinent coxcomb, that he knew was designed for her husband." The tale, which Sir Gregory greatly relishes, is, of course, not completed. This is sufficiently explained when we find that Cunningham is not a stranger to Lucinda, though she conceals the fact from her father and Sir Gregory. When the latter momentarily comes into favor he now speaks thus: "Madam, I am the very humblest of your Footballs; and I wish I may never be married, Madam, if I am not sorry for your Sorrow: But if ever I trust that old Gentleman's Wit, to play the Fool with any Mistress of mine again, I'll give you leave to call me a *Rhinoceros*. And now we are Friends, Madam, let's e'en join Hands, and revenge our selves upon that Rogue *Cunningham*, that had like to have set us together by the Ears: I'll spoil his Markets with the old Gentlewoman, I warrant you."² As for scene 2, it is very nearly Fletcher, *verbatim*, and such retouching as occurs is again for the better in Sir Gregory's case.

At the beginning of the second act, the short scene in which Lady Gentry figured is rescinded. The future

¹ Swinburne, *Contemporaries of Shakespeare*, p. 162. Such facts as this are not without significance in view of the claims advanced for Cibber as one who "began the reformation of the drama in the direction of morality" (Croissant, p. 62). It may be true that *The Rival Fools* "is morally clean in its action" (p. 55), its pages are certainly quite as well stocked with obscenity as those of *Wit at Several Weapons*.

² P. 9.

laureate probably thought it extraneous, as it undoubtedly was, though not displeasing in itself. Cunningham and the Guardianess at once resume their love-making, and we have scenes 2 and 3 of *Wit at Several Weapons* closely paraphrased in scenes 1 and 2. The most interesting departure is in the matter of time. Cunningham has now been absent only a half-hour, not a whole day; and Simple tells Lucinda that his master "has been cudgelling his Brains these two Hours"¹ to find a present worthy of her acceptance, whereas Sir Gregory Fop had devoted two days to the same exercise. Thus we may suppose that *Rival Fools*, ii, 1, follows closely after i, 2, with the dance of the last act perhaps on the evening of the same day.² Scene 3, the gulling of Credulous, has been successfully enlarged. The "poach'd scholar" is now seen waiting with his cousin for the appearance of their victim. He explains, too, why he is there: "Seriously, I wou'd not do an ill thing; but really, my Allowance from my Uncle has been extremely small, and twenty Pounds, at this time, wou'd be an inconceivable service to me. . . . And, really, if it were not to do me a mighty Piece of service, I wou'd not do a base thing for the whole World."³ His apology after Outwit's "Stand!" is also pleasant: "Sir, we are Gentlemen, really under necessity, and hope you won't take it ill; for, upon my Word — for my part — really, you'll find me very Civil — therefore, pray Sir, don't make a Disturbance — but, really, consider your own Danger."

The third act commences with a short scene of Cibber's own. Mirabel informs Lucinda of her mother's "notable Project," and adds that she (Mirabel) has "undertaken to go through with it too." Lucinda is anxious,

¹ P. 19.

² The fact that in *Rival Fools*, iii, 2, the bare direction "Musick Plays" replaces the *aubade* of *Wit at Several Weapons*, iii, 1, may point in the same direction.

³ P. 26.

but throws out the hint that Cunningham "writ me a Letter t'other Day, and propos'd you as a Wife for Sir Gregory." ¹ The long second scene is little more than *Wit at Several Weapons*, iii, 1, with some additions, and on the whole improvements, on Sir Gregory's part.²

The first scene of Act iv is still in the main Fletcher, the most striking difference being the omission of the "poach'd scholar" passage. At the end, Cibber no longer has Cunningham and Young Outwit meet,—something which the earlier playwright had taken pains to do,—but adds instead a little more jubilation as the conspirators go out, and then begins a new scene (2) with the entrance of Cunningham and Mirabel. Their interview is largely rewritten, and in the process sharpened. Then comes a new turn. Sir Gregory is given a letter for Lucinda, which Cunningham promises will lead to an immediate "Abatement of her Severity." He trots off with it joyfully, and Mirabel, reappearing, is instructed to go at once to Lucinda and rouse her jealousy by declaring that the letter is not for her.³ So, after Simon has been disposed of—this time with a promise which definitely anticipates the stratagem of the last act—we pass to the delivery of the letter (scene 3). Sir Gregory receives much the same ill-usage as in the original (iv, 2),⁴ but is now packed off just as Mirabel enters. From this point to the end of the scene we get Cibber's own work. Lucinda is completely taken in by Mirabel's story, and, believing that she has lost Cunningham, is quite ready for a reconciliation when her lover assures her that all was a trick.

¹ P. 30.

² Cf. his soliloquy just before Cunningham's entrance (p. 35) with the same passage in Fletcher.

³ Mirabel shows some scruples, but is told by Cunningham that Lucinda has made disparaging remarks about her—the retailing of which meets with entire success.

⁴ He now vows to marry Lucinda in pure spite—"and make you as miserable a Wife, as you wou'd me a horrible Husband" (p. 51).

Act v is marked by the greater care bestowed on exposition. Thus, towards the end of the first scene, Witty-pate, coming in hastily, had told Cunningham:

All is a-foot, and will go smooth away:
The woman has conquer'd the women, they are gone;
Which I have already complain'd to my father,
Suggesting that Sir Gregory is faln off
From his charge, for neglects and ill usage,
And that he is most violently bent
On Gentry's wife (whom I have call'd a widow),
And that without most sudden prevention
He will be married to her. . . .

You shall not go

But with my father: on my wit let it lie;
You shall appear a friendly assistant,
To help in all affairs, and in execution
Help yourself only.

Young Outwit puts it this way:

All's a-foot: The Knight's Lady has prevail'd with my Cousin, your Mistress, upon an Assurance that you will meet her there; and she has wheedled the old *Governess* to go with her: And they are all now at the Masquerade, in the next Street; upon which I have alarm'd my Father, that Sir *Gregory* is fallen off, for Neglects, and ill Usage, and that he is now violently bent upon a rich Widow (whom the Knight's Lady must personate) and to complete his Revenge, is resolv'd, unless suddenly prevented, to marry her immediately: Now this, Sir, will make my Father eager, at any Rate, to recover Sir *Gregory*, whom, by a Mark, and the change of one another's Coats, You are to personate; and so disguis'd, you carry off your Mistress, and ev'n cheat the old *Governess* to assist you.¹

Sir Gregory's marriage scene has gained in several respects. Thus Simple now proposes a health:

Hold, Sir, begging your Fair Lady's pardon too — give me leave first, at least, in one friendly flowing Glass, to particu-

¹ P. 61.

larize my separate Satisfaction, that I conceive at this time in your united Felicity, and that ridiculous Animal, Sir *Gregory's* eternal Disappointment.¹

Thus, too, the master is now only anxious that his man be made "but half as much a Fool" as he himself has been. And, finally, the interview with Old Outwit at the end — the manner in which the bad news is broken to him, and lines the pockets of that blithe rascal, his son — shows much improvement over its hastily sketched counterpart. Not so much can be said for the concluding scene (2). One misses Oldwit's denial that he has received *quid pro quo* from the musicians; ² the comfortable tucking up of Credulous and the Gentrys at the end. Worse still, Sir Oliver reverts to brutality:

Governess. Your *Niece!* your *Niece!* Sir.

Sir Oliver. What! broke her Leg?

Gov. O worse, worse! she has broke all the Bonds of Obedience, and is most notoriously —

Sir Ol. With Child.

Gov. Married, Sir.

Sir Ol. The Devil!

Gov. To that abandon'd false Dissembler, *Cunningham*.

Sir Ol. Then wou'd she were with Child.³

Sir Perfidious had been spared this touch at least.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ALTERED VERSIONS

Below I have set down some of the changes most frequently met with in these stage versions of Beaumont and Fletcher. Nothing more than a brief working list has been attempted, and the arrangement is one of convenience only.

(1) Changes were frequently made in order to give the plays more perfect unity of action. *The Rivals*, *Bonduca*,

¹ P. 57.

² They are now Italians, and protest in broken English.

³ P. 68. Some obscenity had also been added to Sir Gregory's part in the scene before.

Valentinian, *The Unhappy Kindness*, *The Faithful General*, *Trick for Trick*, *A Fool's Preferment*, and *The Inconstant*, all show changes actuated by this creditable motive.

(2) Changes were also made, but less frequently, in order to impose the subordinate unities of time and place. The pseudo-classical ideals in these matters (that the duration of time should not exceed that of a day, or better still, a natural day, and that the scene should be confined throughout to a single place) were seldom realized. But the free movement of the Jacobean drama was successfully trammelled in *The Rivals*, for example, *The Unhappy Kindness*, *The Faithful General*, and, so far as time is concerned, in *The Rival Fools*.

(3) The mixture of *genres* was sometimes avoided. In tragedy, the comic elements were sometimes cut down (as in *Bonduca*), sometimes done away with altogether (as in *The Unhappy Kindness* and *The Faithful General*); in comedy, the romantic was sometimes sacrificed to the farcical, either partially (as in *A Commonwealth of Women* and *The Pilgrim*) or completely (as in *Trick for Trick*). On the other hand, in one or two of the tragicomedies, farce characters were introduced (as in *The Rivals*), or developed (as in *The Restoration*).¹

(4) In serious plays greater emphasis was often laid on "heart interest." This was certainly the case with *The Rivals*, the Tate and Motteux versions of *The Island Princess*, *Bonduca*, *Valentinian*, and *The Faithful General*. Moreover, though Beaumont and Fletcher have never been accused of practising undue austerity towards their public, one pleasing innovation had come into vogue since their time: and in at least four of the six pieces just named, Love is now mounted on a seesaw, with Honor,

¹ Changes in *genre* were: from tragi-comedy to tragedy, *The Unhappy Kindness* and *The Faithful General*; from tragedy to tragi-comedy, *The Rivals* and *The Maid's Tragedy*.

his favorite playfellow in the heroic drama, at the other end.¹

(5) Some of the comedies reflect the low moral standards of the time. Thus D'Urfey's three adaptations, and to a lesser degree *The Pilgrim* and *The Rival Fools*, are distinguished by added obscenity, brutalizing of the characters, or both. On the other hand, *Wit without Money* and *The Inconstant* (at any rate in Act v), having come under the new spirit of reformation and sentimentalism, represent an exactly opposite tendency. Finally, in the serious plays, ethical purposes are not infrequently discernible and ethical reflections expressed — witness Tate's *Island Princess*, *Philaster*, and *The Unhappy Kindness*.

(6) A political bias was given to several of the serious plays. Thus in *Valentinian*, *Philaster*, and *The Faithful General*, passive obedience and the divine right of kings were set forth in heightened colors; while in *The Maid's Tragedy* a "dangerous" doctrine was confuted and a graceful compliment was paid to royalty.

(7) The "sympathetic" characters in serious plays were often divested of those "imperfections which accompany human nature." An age which went in for exact distribution of poetical justice, which prided itself on understanding the "decorum of the stage,"² might conceivably have connected these changes with either principle. I am inclined, nevertheless, to explain them rather as an application of that idea of *manners* which led Rymer to condemn Arbaces as unkingly, Evadne as un-

¹ *The Rivals*, the Motteux *Island Princess*, *Valentinian*, and *The Faithful General*.

² See Dryden's *Defence of the Epilogue*, where one finds cited as faults in decorum: the "indecentcy of wounding women"; anachronisms; improbabilities; and unseemly episodes such as a clown's having "the advantage of the combat against the hero," in *Philaster*, and "diverting you from your serious concernment, with his ridiculous and absurd raillery" (Scott-Saintsbury, iv, 229).

womanly; ¹ and which Dryden turned against the wounding of Arethusa by Philaster, calling it "contrary to the character of manhood." ² The idea was, in substance, that the characteristics of the individual must be represented as consonant with his "age or sex," his "quality or present condition." ³ A king, for instance, must be every inch a king; a hero, heroic; a woman, modest — because "Nature knows nothing in the manners which so properly distinguishes woman as doth her modesty." ⁴ Logically carried out, this would inevitably have restricted characterization to fixed types. Notable examples of this kind of change may be found in the several versions of *Philaster* and *The Island Princess*.⁵

(8) Spectacular staging was frequently called for. *The Prophetess* and the Tate and Motteux versions of *The Island Princess* may be cited in this regard.

(9) Three plays, *The Island Princess* (by Motteux), *Bonduca*, and *The Prophetess*, were converted into so-called operas; several others—notably *The Rivals*, *Valentinian*, *The Faithful General*, *A Fool's Preferment*, and *The Pilgrim* — were adorned with appended or interpolated "musical entertainments," masques, and ballets.

(10) As to style, the comedies — with one exception, *A Commonwealth of Women*, which might almost be called a tragi-comedy — were rewritten as prose. The serious plays generally retained blank verse, but with an occasional outbreak of heroic couplets as in *The Rivals*,

¹ *Tragedies of the Last Age*, pp. 60-67, 113, 114.

² *Grounds of Criticism in Tragedy* (Scott-Saintsbury, vi, 272). His *Heads of an Answer to Rymer* show a saner view of the subject (xv, 386).

³ *Grounds of Criticism in Tragedy*, vi, 266 ff.

⁴ *Tragedies of the Last Age*, p. 113. Cf. *Cato Examined: or Animadversions on the . . . New Tragedy*, 1713, p. 10; and p. 207, above.

⁵ Dr. Kilborne calls attention to the idea, exemplified in Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*, that "the hero and heroine should not be villains." (*Alterations and Adaptations of Shakespeare*, 1906, p. 14; and see Dryden's *Grounds of Criticism in Tragedy*, vi, 263). This would explain some of the changes under discussion, but not all.

The Faithful General, Valentinian, and particularly *The Maid's Tragedy*. Characteristic modifications in diction have already been discussed under Betterton's *Prophetess*, where they may be seen to particular advantage.¹

(11) The remaining types of change are either less interesting in themselves, or of less frequent occurrence in the revisions of Beaumont and Fletcher.

Both comedies and serious plays were very frequently abridged, owing, perhaps, to the demands of the new staging. Tate's *Island Princess*, an extreme case, has only about 1600 lines as against something over 2500 in the original.²

Expository speeches were sometimes interpolated, sometimes enlarged, in order to keep the action of the play perfectly clear. This is particularly true of *Trick for Trick* and *The Rival Fools*.

The *liaison* of scenes advocated by Dryden's Crites is clearly exemplified in at least one play, *The Unhappy Kindness*.

And finally, Poetical Justice, as such, was an important influence on *The Maid's Tragedy* — not, I believe, elsewhere.

¹ Pp. 157 ff., above.

² The figures, which are approximate only, are made on the basis of whole lines. See also pp. 214, 215, above.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

ANON., *The Mad Lover*

IN the *Biographia Dramatica* (1812), under *Mad Lover*, is the statement: "There would seem to have been an opera of this title . . . but we have not met with it; nor do we find it mentioned in any former list."¹ A cross reference is given to *Acis and Galatea*, which is described as a "Masque by P. Motteux . . . set to musick by John Eccles, and performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by his Majesty's servants. 4to 1701. Performed at Lincolns Inn Fields 8vo. N. D. . . . with this Masque are published the rest of the musical entertainments, in an opera called *The Mad Lover*."² Parts of this mysterious composition seem to have been given at Lincoln's Inn Fields: April 28, 1703, with Boyle's *As you Find it*; February 12, and again February 15, 1704, with Tate's *Duke and no Duke*; August 1, 1704, with *A Match in Newgate*.³ In the first instance it is "The Masque of Acis and Galatea and the rest of the Musical Entertainments in the Mad Lover." In the second and third, "The Masque of Acis and Galatea. And the other Musical Entertainments that were performed in the Mad Lover." In the last, "The dialogue in the Mad Lover by Bowman and Pack — representing a drunken Officer and a town Miss." There is further mention of *The Mad Lover* in the Burney Manuscript, which records a performance at Lincoln's Inn Fields as early as June 24, 1701 — "*Circe and Mad Lover* with the *Wedding Day*, by Mr. Dogget and Mr. Boman." *Circe*, Charles D'Avenant's opera, was a sizable work.

In going through some music books in the Harvard Library, I happened upon a copy of *Mercurius Musicus* for January—

¹ III, 4.

² II, 3. Mr. Nicoll describes *Acis and Galatea* as a "little drama . . . evidently produced with *The Mad Lover*" (*History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama*, p. 259).

³ Latreille MS.; Genest notices only the second and fourth performances, ii, 306, 311.

February, 1701, containing "The Single Songs in the new Opera call'd (*The Mad Lover*) at the Theatre in Little *Lincoln's-Inn* Fields. Compos'd by *John Eccles* Master of His Majesty's Musick." Four of these songs are described as sung by Mrs. Bracegirdle, one by Mrs. Bracegirdle and Mr. Wiltshire, one by Mrs. Hudson, one by Mr. Cook, one is unassigned. Also in *Mercurius Musicus*, but for March and April, is a long "Dialogue Sett by Mr. John Eccles in the *Mad Lover* and Sung by Mr. Doget and Mr. Bowman"; also a song from the same, sung by Mr. and Mrs. Haynes. And finally, in the May and June number I find one more "Song in the *Mad Lover*," for Mrs. Bracegirdle, and "Acis and Galatea: a Dialogue in the *Mad Lover*. . . . Sung by Mrs. Bracegirdle and Mr. Bowman."¹

Six of these twelve songs² appear in the only editions of *Acis and Galatea* which I have seen.³ The other six — one of them gratulatory in character, and mentioning "Peace and William"; the rest amorous, bibulous, or martial — are not given, nor is there any reference to *The Mad Lover*.

It is barely conceivable that *The Mad Lover* was no more than an alternative title for *Acis and Galatea*. On the other hand: (1) some of the notices quoted above imply a distinction between the two compositions; (2) six of the songs from *The Mad Lover* are not, as we have seen, in *Acis and Galatea*; (3) "the dialogue in the *Mad Lover*" described in Genest's notice as "by Bowman and Pack — representing a drunken Officer and a town Miss" — does not sound as if it could very well have been introduced in *Acis and Galatea*.⁴

¹ Several of the songs are given without explanatory titles in D'Urfey's *Wit and Mirth*, 1707, iv, 27, 74, 76, 78.

² Four of Mrs. Bracegirdle's, with the unassigned piece (all of these from the part of Acis) and the "Acis and Galatea" dialogue sung by Mrs. Bracegirdle and Mr. Bowman.

³ "Acis and Galatea a Masque. Perform'd at the Theatre in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*. The Words Written by Mr. Motteux and Sett to Musick by Mr. Eccles" (Howlett, N. D.). Mrs. Spillar and Mrs. Cross are named among the actors. "Acis and Galatea: a Masque. As it is Perform'd at the Theatre-Royal in *Drury-Lane*, by His Majesty's Servants. Set to musick by Mr. John Eccles, Master of His Majesty's Band of Music" (Roberts, 1723).

⁴ One or two of the six songs just mentioned do not connect themselves readily with any episode in the masque.

If the Motteux masque formed part of an opera called *The Mad Lover*, — perhaps in no more exact sense than that in which *The Four Seasons* forms part of the operatic *Island Princess*, — it seems probable that the larger composition was a version of Fletcher's play.¹ A new opera is much less likely to have remained unprinted than an old play to which a masque and a few "musical entertainments" were attached. As inviting operatic treatment, Fletcher's tragi-comedy rivals his "tragical history," *The Prophetess*.

¹ Mr. Armstrong, whose knowledge of *The Mad Lover* was "limited to the brief notices in the *Biographia Dramatica*," assumes that it was based on Fletcher's play (*Operatic Performances in England before Handel*, *Baylor Bulletin*, 1918, xxi, 49).

APPENDIX II

H. N., *The Royal Merchant, or Beggars' Bush*

GENEST describes a play of this title (produced at Drury Lane, June 12, 1705) as "a very good, but slight alteration of one of Beaumont and Fletcher's best plays — the first scene of Act 3d (which required more alteration than any other part of the play) is well enough managed: in Act 4th when the Beggars are forbidden by their king to go to the wedding, a happy parody on *Othello* is introduced —

'Farewell the plumbed pottage, and the minced pies;
The charming seasoned gravy, the life-reviving pig;
Together with all pride, pomp and circumstance
Of glorious eating; O Farewell!
Prince Prigg's occupation's gone'

The name of the play is changed much for the worse; and the last scene of Act 3d between Goswin and Gertrude (or Bertha) is improperly omitted — the characters are from the play as printed in 1706."¹

The Biographia Dramatica (1812) also has, under *The Royal Merchant*,² "Com. by H. N. (perhaps Henry Norris, the comedian) 4to 1706. This play is only an alteration from Beaumont and Fletcher's *Beggar's Bush*, and in this altered shape has been frequently performed." This statement, with the smallest variations in phrase, goes back to Baker's *Companion to the Playhouse*, and is carried forward as far as Mr. Daniel's introduction to *Beggars' Bush* in the *Variorum Edition*,³ and Mr. Nicoll's notice of the play in his *History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama*.⁴

The present writer has examined two copies of "The Royal Merchant: or Beggars-Bush. A Comedy. Acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane, By Her Majesty's Servants.

¹ II, 322.

² III, 229.

³ II, 344.

⁴ Pp. 134, 346.

London: Printed for H. N. and Sold by J. Nutt, near Stationers-Hall, 1706." He has also examined an undated copy, similar in title except that the names of several booksellers are added. But though all three copies give the same list of actors as that printed by Genest,¹ and are adorned with an unenlightening dedication signed H. N., they are nothing more than reprints of the First Folio text of *Beggars' Bush*, and contain no alterations of the slightest moment.²

Genest's description of the alterations applies perfectly to "The Royal Merchant; or Beggars Bush. A Comedy. As it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden. Written by Beaumont and Fletcher. London: Printed for J. and R. Tonson in the Strand. MDCCLVI." Yet this edition, which Genest refers to in its place,³ contains no list of actors, and is wholly without mention of H. N.! Possibly the latter turned out two distinct editions of the play in 1706, one as originally written, the other as altered by himself.

¹ Cf. p. 80 note, above.

² A few stage directions are added: e.g., "pulls 'em by the Nose, while Ferret picks their Pockets," iii, 1, 79.

³ IV, 595.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. ALTERATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS

D'Avenant's Rivals.

The Rivals. A Comedy. Acted by His Highnes the Duke of York's Servants. Licensed September 19. 1668. Roger L'Estrange. London, Printed for William Cademan, at the Pope's Head in the Lower Wall of the New Exchange. 1668.

The Island Princess.

The Island Princess: Or The Generous Portugal. A Comedy. As it is Acted at the Theatre Royal by His Majesties Servants. With the Alterations and New Additional Scenes. Licensed May 31. 1669. Roger L'Estrange. London, Printed for H. R. and A. M. and are to be sold by William Cademan at the Popes Head in the Lower walk of the New Exchange, and Robert Pask at the Stationers Arms and Ink-bottle under Pinners Hall in Winchesterstreet by Gresham Colledge. 1669.

D'Urfey's Trick for Trick.

Trick for Trick: or, The Debauch'd Hypocrite. A Comedy, As it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal, By His Majestie's Servants. Written by Tho. Durfey, Gent. Licensed, April 30th. 1678. Roger L'Estrange. London, Printed for Langley Curtiss, in Goat-Court upon Ludgate-Hill. 1678.

Buckingham's Chances.

The Chances, A Comedy: As it was Acted at the Theater Royal. Corrected and Altered by a Person of Honour. London, Printed for A. B. and S. M. and Sold by Langley Curtis on Ludgate Hill. 1682.

Rochester's Valentinian.

Valentinian: A Tragedy. As 'tis Alter'd by the late Earl of Rochester, And Acted at the Theatre-Royal. Together with a Preface concerning the Author and his Writings.

By one of his Friends. London: Printed for Timothy Goodwin at the Maiden-head against St. Dunstons-Church in Fleetstreet. 1685.

D'Urfey's Commonwealth of Women.

A Common-Wealth of Women. A Play: As it is Acted at the Theatre Royal, By their Majesties Servants. By Mr. D'Urfey. [Quotation.] Licensed. Sept. 11. 1685. Roger L'Estrange. London, Printed for R. Bentley in Russelstreet in Covent-Garden; and J. Hindmarsh at the Golden Ball in Cornwell, over against the Royal Exchange. 1686.

Tate's Island Princess.

The Island-Princess: As it is Acted at the Theatre Royal, Reviv'd with Alterations. By N. Tate. Gent. London: Printed by R. H. for W. Canning, at his Shop in Vine-Court Middle Temple. 1687.

D'Urfey's Fool's Preferment.

A Fool's Preferment, Or, The Three Dukes of Dunstable. A Comedy. As it was Acted at the Queens Theatre in Dorset-Garden, by Their Majesties Servants. Written by Mr. D'urfey. Together, with all the Songs and Notes to 'em, Excellently Compos'd by Mr. Henry Purcell. 1688. Licensed, May 21. 1688. R. P. [Quotation.] Printed for Jos. Knight, and Fra. Saunders at the Blue Anchor in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange in the Strand, 1688.

Waller's Maid's Tragedy.

(a) The Second Part of Mr. Waller's Poems. Containing, His Alteration of the Maids Tragedy, And whatever of his is yet unprinted: Together with some other Poems, Speeches, &c. that were Printed severally, and never put into the First Collection of his Poems. [Quotation.] London, Printed for Tho. Bennet, at the Half-Moon in St. Paul's Church-yard. MDCXC.

(b) The Maid's Tragedy Altered. With some other Pieces. By Edmund Waller, Esq; Not before Printed in the several Editions of his Poems. London, Printed for Jacob Tonson, at the Judges Head in Chancery Lane, near Fleet-street, 1690.

Betterton's Prophetess.

The Prophetess: or, The History of Dioclesian. Written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher. With Alterations and Additions, After the Manner of an Opera. Represented at the Queen's Theatre, By Their Majesties Servants. London, Printed for Jacob Tonson at the Judges Head in Chancery-lane near Fleet-street. 1690.

Settle's Philaster.

Philaster: or, Love lies a bleeding. A Tragi-Comedy. As it is now acted at His Majesty's Theatre Royal. Revised, and the Two last Acts new Written. [Quotation.] London: Printed for R. Bentley, at the Post-House in Russel-Street, in Covent-Garden. 1695.

Bonduca.

Bonduca: or, The British Heroine, A Tragedy. Acted at the Theatre Royal. By His Majesty's Servants. With a New Entertainment of Musick, Vocal and Instrumental Never Printed or Acted before. London, Printed for Richard Bentley in Russel-Street near Covent-Garden. 1696.

Scott's Unhappy Kindness.

The Unhappy Kindness: Or A Fruitless Revenge. A Tragedy, As it is Acted at the Theatre Royal. [Quotation.] Written by Mr. Scot. London, Printed for H. Rhodes in Fleetstreet, S. Briscoe in Covent-garden, and R. Parker at the Royal Exchange. 1697.

Motteux, The Island Princess.

The Island Princess, Or The Generous Portuguese. Made into an Opera. As it is performed at the Theatre Royal. All the Musical Entertainments and the greatest Part of the Play new, and written by Mr. Motteux. London, Printed for Richard Wellington, at the Lute in St. Paul's Church-Yard, and Sold by Bernard Lintott, at the Cross-Keys in St. Martins Lane, next Long Acre. 1699.

Vanbrugh's Pilgrim.

The Pilgrim, A Comedy: As it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal, in Drury-Lane. Written Originally by Mr. Fletcher, and now very much Alter'd, with several Addi-

tions. Likewise A Prologue, Epilogue, Dialogue and Masque, written by the late Great Poet Mr. Dryden, just before his Death, being the last of his Works. London, Printed for Benjamin Tooke, near the Middle-Temple-Gate, in Fleet-street, 1700.

Farquhar's Inconstant.

The Inconstant: or, The way to win him. A Comedy, As it is Acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury-lane. By his Majesty's Servants. Written by Mr. Farquhar. [Quotation.] London, Printed for J. Knapton at the Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard; G. Strahan at the Golden Ball over against the Royal Exchange, Cornhil; and B. Lintott next the Middle Temple Gate, Fleet-street. 1702.

M. N., The Faithful General.

The Faithful General: A Tragedy As it is Acted at the Queens Theatre in the Hay-Market. By Her Majesty's Sworn Servants. Written by a Young Lady. London: Printed for Richard Wellington at the Dolphin in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1706.

Wit without Money.

Wit without Mony, a Comedy, (With Alterations and Amendments, by some Persons of Quality.) As it is now Acted at the Queen's Theatre In the Hay-Market, By Her Majesty's Company of Comedians. London: Printed for, and are to be Sold by John Morphew near Stationers-Hall. [c. 1707.]

Cibber's Rival Fools.

The Rival Fools. A Comedy. As it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane. By Her Majesty's Sworn Comedians. Written by Mr. Cibber. London: Printed for Bernard Lintott at the Cross-Keys, between the Two Temple Gates in Fleetstreet. [c. 1709.]

Buckingham's Restoration.

The Restauration: or, Right will take Place. A Tragicomedy. Written by George Villiers, late Duke of Buckingham. From the Original Copy, never before Printed. London: Printed in the Year MDCCXIV. (*The Works of His Grace George Villiers, Late Duke of Buckingham.* 2 vols., London, 1715.)

II. GENERAL ¹

Adams, Joseph Quincy.

The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, 1623-1673, New Haven, 1917.

Authentic Memoirs of the Life of that Celebrated Actress Mrs. Ann Oldfield, containing a Genuine Account of her Transactions to the Time of her Death. . . . Sixth edition, with new additions never before printed, 1730.

Baker, David Erskine, and others.

Biographia Dramatica; or a Companion to the Playhouse. . . . Originally compiled, to the year 1764, by David Erskine Baker. Continued thence to 1782, by Isaac Read, F.A.S., and brought down to the end of November 1811 . . . by Stephen Jones, 3 vols., 1812.

Beaumont and Fletcher.

Works. Adorned with Cuts. Revised and Corrected: with some Account of the Life and Writings of the Authors, London (Tonson), 7 vols., 8vo., 1711.

Beaumont and Fletcher.

Works, ed. Alexander Dyce, 11 vols., 1843-1846.

Beaumont and Fletcher.

Works, Variorum Edition, 4 vols., 1904-1912.

Beaumont and Fletcher.

Works, ed. Arnold Glover and A. R. Waller ("Cambridge English Classics"), Cambridge, 1906-1912.

Fletcher and Shakespeare.

"The Two Noble Kinsmen," *The Shakespeare Apocrypha* ed. C. F. Tucker Brooke, Oxford, 1908.

Behn, Aphra.

Works, ed. Montague Summers, 6 vols., 1915.

Brown, F. C.

Elkanah Settle, his Life and Works, Chicago, 1910.

¹ Only printed books are included, and only the more important of these.

Buckingham, Duke of.

The Miscellaneous Works of His Grace George, Late Duke of Buckingham, etc., 2 vols., 1705-1707.

Calendars of the State Papers Relating to Ireland Preserved in the Public Record Office.

Chetwood, W. R.

A General History of the Stage (more particularly the Irish Theatre). From its Origin in Greece down to the Present Time. With the Memoirs of most of the Principal Performers, that have appeared on the Dublin Stage, for the last fifty years, etc., Dublin, 1749.

Cibber, Colley.

An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber, Comedian, and late Patentee of the Theatre-Royal, with an Historical View of the Stage during his own Time. Written by Himself. . . . Second edition, 1740.

Cibber, Theophilus.

Two Dissertations on the Theatres, with an Appendix, etc., [1756].

Collier, Jeremy.

A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage, together with the Sense of Antiquity upon this Argument, 1698.

Covent Garden Drolery, or A Collection of all the Choice Songs, Poems, Prologues, and Epilogues (sung and spoken at Courts and Theatres), never in print before. Written by the Refinedst Wits of the Age, and collected by R. B., Servant to His Majesty, 1672.

Croissant, De Witt C.

Studies in the Work of Colley Cibber, Lawrence, Mass., 1912. ("Bulletin of the University of Kansas, Humanistic Studies," vol. 1, no. 1.)

Davies, Thomas.

Dramatic Miscellanies: consisting of Critical Observations on several Plays of Shakespeare, etc., 3 vols., 1784.

Downes, John.

Roscius Anglicanus, or An Historical Review of the Stage . . . from 1660 to 1706, ed. Joseph Knight, 1886.

Dryden, John.

Critical and Miscellaneous Works, ed. Edmond Malone, 3 vols., 1800.

Dryden, John.

Works . . . with Notes . . . by Sir Walter Scott, revised and corrected by George Saintesbury, 18 vols., Edinburgh, 1882.

Ëgerton, William.

Faithful Memoirs of the Life, Amours, and Performances, of that justly Celebrated, and most Eminent Actress of her Time, Mrs. Anne Oldfield, etc., 1731.

Evelyn, John.

Diary, ed. Bray-Wheatley, 4 vols., 1879.

Farquhar, George.

Love and Business, in a Collection of Occasional Verse, and Epistolary Prose, not hitherto publish'd. A Discourse likewise upon Comedy in reference to the English Stage, in a Familiar Letter, 1702.

Fenton, Elijah.

The Works of Edmund Waller, Esq., in Verse and Prose, 1730.

Forsythe, R. S.

A Study of the Plays of Thomas D'Urfey with a Reprint of the Fools Preferment, "Western Reserve Bulletins," vol. xix, no. 5, 1916-1917.

Genest, John.

Some Account of the English Stage from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830, 10 vols., Bath, 1832.

Gildon, Charles.

A Comparison between the Two Stages with an Examen of the Generous Conqueror . . . in Dialogue, 1702.

[Gildon, Charles.]

The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets. Also an Exact Account of all the Plays that were ever yet printed in the English Tongue. . . . First begun by Mr. Langbain, improv'd and continued down to this Time, by a Careful Hand [c. 1699].

Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, 1874 ff.

Inderwick, F. A.

A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records . . . vol. III, 12 Charles II (1660) — 12 Anne (1714), 1901.

Jacob, Giles.

The Poetical Register: or, The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets, with an Account of their Writings, 1719.

Kirkman, Francis.

The Wits, or Sport upon Sport, 1672.

Langbaine, Gerard.

An Account of the English Dramatick Poets, or, Some Observations and Remarks on the Lives and Writings of all those that have publish'd either Comedies, Tragedies, Tragi-Comedies, Pastorals, Masques, Interludes, Farces, or Operas in the English Tongue, Oxford, 1691.

Lawrence, W. J.

The Elizabethan Playhouse and Other Studies, Second Series, Philadelphia, 1913.

The Life of that Eminent Comedian Robert Wilks, Esq., etc., 1733.

"The Long Vacation: A Satyr, addressed to all Disconsolate Traders (1709)," *A Collection of the Best English Poetry, by Several Hands*, vol. ii, 1717.

Lowe, R. W.

Thomas Betterton, 1891.

Malone, Edmond.

"An Historical Account of the English Stage," etc., *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, 1790, I, ii.

Mercurius Musicus, or, The Monthly Collection of New Teaching Songs . . . compos'd for, and sung at the Theatres, and other Publick Places, 1700.

[Mottley, John.]

"A Compleat List of all the English Dramatic Poets, and of all the Plays ever printed in the English Language, to the present year M, DCC, XLVII," affixed to Whincop's *Scanderbeg*, 1747.

Newspapers:

The British Apollo.

The Daily Courant.

The Female Tatler.

The London Gazette.

The Post-Boy.

The Post Man.

Nichols, John.

The Theatre by Sir Richard Steele . . . the Anti-Theatre, etc., 1791.

Nicoll, Allardyce.

A History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama, Cambridge, 1925.

Nicoll, Allardyce.

A History of Restoration Drama, 1660-1700, Cambridge, 1923.

Norton, H. G.

"Beaumont and Fletcher's Woman's Prize: the day when it was acted, and the Prologue and Epilogue spoken," *The Shakespeare Society's Papers*, vol. iv, 1849.

Pepys, Samuel.

Diary, ed. H. B. Wheatley, 9 vols., 1893.

[Philips, Mrs. Katharine.]

Letters from Orinda to Poliarchus, 1705.

Poems on Affairs of State . . . written by the greatest Wits of the Age, 4 vols., 1703-1707.

Purcell, Henry.

Works, ed. Purcell Society, 1878 ff.

Rollins, Hyder E.

"A Contribution to the History of the English Commonwealth Drama," *Studies in Philology*, vol. xviii, 1921.

Rymer, Thomas.

The Tragedies of the Last Age Consider'd and Examin'd by the Practice of the Ancients and by the Common Sense of All Ages. In a Letter to Fleetwood Shepherd, Esq., 1678.

Schmid, David.

George Farquhar, Sein Leben und seine Original-Dramen, "Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie," vol. xviii, 1904.

Squire, W. Barclay.

"Purcell's Dramatic Music," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft*, Leipzig, vol. v, 1903-1904, pp. 483-564.

The Stage-Beaux toss'd in a Blanket, or Hypocrisie Alamode Expos'd in a True Picture of Jerry, a Pretending Scourge to the English Stage, 1704.

A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 1640-1708, 3 vols., 1913.

Tate, Nahum.

Poems by Several Hands and on Several Occasions, collected by N. Tate, 1685.

The Tatler, ed. G. A. Aitken, 4 vols., 1898.

The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709. . . . A Contemporary Bibliography of English Literature in the reigns of Charles II, James II, William and Mary, and Anne, ed. Arber, 3 vols., 1903.

Thesaurus Musicus, being a Collection of the Newest Songs performed at Their Majesties Theatres, etc., 1694; 1696.

Thorn-Drury, G.

A Little Ark containing Sundry Pieces of Seventeenth-Century Verse, 1921.

Tupper, James.

"The Relation of the Heroic Play to the Romances of Beaumont and Fletcher," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. xx, 1905.

[Victor, Benjamin.]

Memoirs of the Life of Barton Booth, Esq., with his Character . . . publish'd by an Intimate Acquaintance of Mr. Booth, by consent of his Widow, 1733.

Warton, Joseph, and others.

The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq., 9 vols., 1797.

INDEX

In general, only the more important occurrences are recorded.

- Adams, J. Q., 16 n.
 Aitken, G. A., 119 n.
 Armstrong, A. J., 273 n.
Athenian Mercury, The, 44.
Authentic Memoirs of the Life of that Celebrated Actress Mrs. Ann Oldfield, 81.
 Baker, D. E., 274.
 Barry, Elizabeth, 105 and n.
 Bartley, W. *See* Berkeley, Sir William.
 Basset, the game of, attacked by D'Urfey, 239, 240.
 Beaumont and Fletcher (*see also* Fletcher, John), influence of, on the Heroic Drama, xvii, xviii;
 Plays of, acted 1660-63, 24, 25;
 Plays of, acted 1663-82, 74 n.;
 Plays of, acted 1682-95, 74;
 Plays of, acted 1695-1706, 102 and n.;
 Plays of, acted 1706-10, 120, 121;
 Plays of, acted 1660-1710, 122 ff.;
 Works (1711), 59, 187;
 Beggars' Bush, 10, 15, 17, 20 and n., 22, 30, 52, 54, 80, 81, 88 n., 104, 108, 114, 115, 120 n., 124;
 see also *Lame Commonwealth, The*, and N[orris], H[enry], *The Royal Merchant*;
 Bloody Brother, The, 4, 10, 15, 18, 24, 30, 31, 52, 54, 55, 61 n., 76, 108, 114 n., 123; *see also* *Three Merry Boys, The*;
 Bonduca, 52, 80; *see also* Powell, George;
 Captain, The, 52;
 Chances, The, 15, 18 and n., 20, 22, 124, 125; *see also* Buckingham, and *Landlady, The*;
 Club Men, The, 6;
 Coxcomb, The, 50, 52;
 Cupid's Revenge, 27, 29; *see also* *Loyal Citizens, The*;
 Custom of the Country, The, 47, 52; *see also* *Stallion, The*;
 Doctors of Dull-Head College, The, 6;
 Double Marriage, The, 50, 52, 54 and n., 57;
 Elder Brother, The, 10, 15, 19, 22, 33, 52, 74 n.;
 Encounter, The, 5;
 Equal Match, The, 6;
 Fair Maid of the Inn, The, 52, 122;
 Faithful Shepherdess, The, 30, 46, 47, 52;
 False Heir and Formal Curate, The, 6;
 False One, The, 52, 122;
 Father's Own Son, The. See *Monsieur Thomas*;
 Forced Valor, 5;
 Four Plays in One, 122;
 Generous Portugal, The. See *Island Princess, The*;
 Honest Man's Fortune, The, 29, 122;
 Humorous Lieutenant, The, 10, 15, 18, 20, 22, 33 ff., 52, 54, 57, 76,

Beaumont and Fletcher (*contin'd*).

Humorous Lieutenant, The,
(*contin'd*).

81, 82, 109, 123; *see also* *Forced Valor*;

Island Princess, The, 52, 123, 124 n.; anon. adaptation, 49, 50, 137-139, 144 and n., 145 and n., 146, 150 n., 279; *see also* Motteux, Pierre, and Tate, Nahum;

King and No King, A, 3 and n., 10, 15, 18, 19, 20, 34, 35, 36, 38, 52, 58, 61 n., 76, 86, 104, 123;

Knight of Malta, The, 52, 67;

Knight of the Burning Pestle, The, 20, 21, 36 ff.; *see also* *Encounter, The*;

Lame Commonwealth, The, 5;

Landlady, The, 5;

Laws of Candy, The, 52, 122;

Little French Lawyer, The, 50, 52, 202 n.;

Little Thief, The. *See* *Night Walker, The*, 2;

Love Despised. *See* *Cupid's Revenge*;

Love lies a Bleeding. *See* *Philaster*;

Love's Cure, 52, 122;

Love's Pilgrimage, 52, 122;

Lovers' Progress, The, 55, 122;

Loyal Citizens, The, 5;

Loyal Subject, The, 10, 11 and n., 12, 13, 16, 24, 46 and n., 52, 86 ff., 125; *see also* N., Miss M., *The Faithful General*;

Lucina's Rape. *See* *Rochester*;

Mad Lover, The, 11, 13, 14, 16, 19 and n., 24, 26; anon. alteration(?) 271-273;

Maid in the Mill, The, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 19, 23, 24, 26 and n., 76, 114, 125; *see also* *Surprise, The*;

Maid's Tragedy, The, 10, 15, 18, 20, 22, 38, 52, 58 ff., 88, 104, 105, 109, 114 n., 115, 119, 120, 123; *see also* *Testy Lord, The*, and Waller, Edmund;

Marshal Maid, The, *see* *Love's Cure*;

Monsieur Thomas, 6, 19, 20; *see also* *Doctors of Dull-Head College, The*, and D'Urfey, Thomas, *Trick for Trick*;

Nice Valor, The, 52, 122;

Night Walker, The, 14 and n., 20, 21, 22 n., 24, 39, 40, 88 and n., 89, 114 n., 125;

Noble Gentleman, The, 52; *see also* D'Urfey, Thomas, *A Fool's Preferment*;

Philaster, 10, 15, 20, 22 n., 40, 52, 63, 64, 89 and n., 123; *see also* Buckingham, *The Restoration, Club Men, The*, and Settle, Elkanah;

Pilgrim, The, 51, 52, 124 n., 125, 202 n.; *see also* Vanbrugh, Sir John;

Prophetess, The, 52; *see also* Betterton, Thomas;

Queen of Corinth, The, 52, 122;

Rollo Duke of Normandy. *See* *Bloody Brother, The*;

Royal Merchant, The. *See* *Beggars' Bush*, and N[orris], H[enry];

Rule a Wife and Have a Wife, 11, 13, 14, 20, 21, 24, 27, 41 ff., 52, 54, 64 and n., 65, 76 ff., 95, 103, 106, 110, 117, 118, 124, 125; *see also* *Equal Match, An*;

Scornful Lady, The, xviii n., xx, 3, 15, 16, 17, 23, 42 ff., 52, 54, 65, 66, 78 and n., 98, 101, 102, 110, 118, 123, 124; *see also* *False Heir and Formal Curate, The*;

Sea Voyage, The, 48, 49, 52, 125; *see also* D'Urfey, Thomas, *A Commonwealth of Women*;

Sexton, The, 6;

Spanish Curate, The, 11 and n., 13, 14, 20, 23, 24, 45, 53, 66, 125; *see also* *Sexton, The*;

Stallion, The, 5;

Storm, The. *See* *Sea Voyage, The*;

Surprise, The, 5;

Tamer Tame, The. *See* *Woman's*

Beaumont and Fletcher (*contin'd*).

Prize, The;

Testy Lord, The, 5, 6;

Thierry and Theodoret, 53, 122;

Three Merry Boys, The, 5;

Two Noble Kinsmen, The. See

D'Avenant, Sir William, *The Rivals*;

Valentinian, 53, 114, 125; see also Rochester;

Wife for a Month, A, 11, 16, 53; see also Scott, Thomas, *The Unhappy Kindness*;

Wild-Goose Chase, The, xviii, 10, 11 n., 16, 45, 53; see also Farquhar, George, *The Inconstant*;

Wit at Several Weapons, 29; see also Cibber, Colley, *The Rival Fools*;

Wit without Money, 3, 4, 10, 12, 15, 22 and n., 23 and n., 45, 66, 124; anon. adaptation, 106, 107, 118, 256-258, 282;

Woman Hater, The, 30, 122;

Woman's Prize, The, 8 ff., 11, 12, 19, 20, 22, 45, 46, 53, 125;

Women Pleased, 28, 29.

Bedford, Arthur, 88 n.

Beeston, William, 7.

Behn, Aphra, 166 and n., 167; *Abdelazar*, 51; *The Lucky Chance*, 173 n.; *Sir Patient Fancy*, 239 n.; *The Widow Ranter*, 51; *The Younger Brother*, 44.

Berkeley, Sir William, *Cornelia*, 22 n.; *The Lost Lady*, 16.

Bertie, Peregrine, 55, 58.

Betterton, Thomas, 11 and n., 12, 57 n., 63, 109, 119, 120; *The Prophetess*, 11 n., 69 ff., 84, 94, 95, 154-160, 281; *The Revenge, or a Match in Newgate*, 271.

Biographia Dramatica, 129 n., 271, 274.

Blackfriars, plays seen by Pepys at, 13 and n., 14.

Bond, R. W., 215 n.

Booth, Barton, 78, 79.

Boutel, Mrs., 77 and n.

Bowen, William, 76 and n.

Bracegirdle, Anne, 272.

Bradshaw, Lucretia, 105 and n.

Briscoe, Sam, 77 n., 97 n.

British Apollo, The, 112, 113, 115.

Brome, Richard, *The Jovial Crew*, 54 n., 113 n.; *The Northern Lass*, 88 n.

Brown, F. C., 198 n.

Brown, Tom, 88, 89.

Browne, Edward, 21 ff.

Buckingham, George Villiers, Duke of, 67, 187 ff.; *The Chances*, 18 n., 31 ff., 52, 55, 81, 108, 109, 115, 116, 120 n., 221-227, 279; *The Restoration*, 64, 187-195, 200 n., 282.

Bullock, William, 116 and n., 258.

Burghclere, Winifred Gardner, Lady, 18 n.

Burney MS., 75 n., 94 and n., 107 n., 75-120 *passim*.

Butler, Charlotte, 56, 71.

Bysshe, Edward, 114.

Cambridge, plays at, 22 and n.

Cardenas, Hamet Ben Hamet, 76, 106.

Carmathen, Marquess of, 93, 94.

Chapman, George, *Bussy D'Ambois*, 10.

Charles II, supposed prohibition of *The Maid's Tragedy* by, 58 ff.

Chaucer, Geoffrey, *The Knights Tale*, 129, 130, 135 n.

Chetwood, W. R., 63, 80, 93.

Christie, W. D., 44 n.

Cibber, Colley, 14, 56, 60, 64, 65, 69, 70, 71, 91 ff., 104, 119; *Love Makes a Man*, xv n.; *Miller's Thumbs*, see *The Rival Fools*; *The Rival Fools*, 111, 112, 257-263, 282; *The School Boy*, 115.

Cibber, Theophilus, 109.

Clun, Walter, 34, 41, 42.

Cockpit, plays at the, 12 n.

Coleridge, S. T., 124, 214, 244, 245.

- Collier, Jeremy, 88, 89 n.
 Congreve, William, *The Way of the World*, 85 and n.
 Cook, Mrs., 77.
 Cooke, John, *Tu Quoque*, 43.
 Corey, Mrs., 42, 73.
 Cotton, Charles, 55 n.
Covent Garden Drollery, 36, 41, 43, 50, 51 and n.
 Cox, Robert, 4 n.
 Croissant, De Witt C., 258 n., 259 n.
 Czar of Muscovy (Peter the Great), 94 and n.
- Daniel, P. A., 41 n., 58 n., 181 n., 200 n., 274.
 Dartmouth MSS, 85 n.
 D'Avenant, Charles, *Circe*, 271.
 D'Avenant, Sir William, 8, 13; *The Rivals*, 11 n., 28, 29, 129-137, 279; *The Unfortunate Lovers*, 10, 11.
 Davies, Thomas, 117, 124.
 Davis, Moll, 29 and n.
 Denham, Sir John, 62.
 Downes, John, 7, 10, 28, 29, 33, 34, 6-75 *passim*.
 Drake, James, *The Sham Lawyer*, xv n.
 Drolls, 4.
 Dryden, John, xix, xx n., 25, 32, 44, 45, 47, 69, 70, 84, 123, 166 n., 189 n., 190, 205, 206, 248, 265 n., 266 and n.; *Amphitryon*, 70; *The Indian Queen*, 94; *King Arthur*, 57 n., 71, 81, 84; *Marriage à la Mode*, 43 and n., 83 n., 104; *Secret Love*, 41, 43 n., 104; *Secular Masque*, 89 ff.; *Sir Martin Marall*, 50 n.; *The Tempest*, 48 and n.
 Dublin, plays at, 23 n., 46 and n., 78 n., 89 n.
 Duke's Company, 13 ff., 19, 23, 24, 26 ff., 53.
 Dunton, John, xviii.
 D'Urfey, Thomas, 85, 202; *A Commonwealth of Women*, 66, 95, 103, 110, 111, 115, 120 n., 232-238, 280; *A Fool's Preferment*, 67 ff., 89, 238-244, 280; *Pil's to Purge Melancholy*, 82 n.; *The Three Dukes of Dunstable*, *see A Fool's Preferment*; *Trick for Trick*, 39, 227-232, 279; *The Wonders in the Sun*, 76.
 Dyce, Alexander, 125, 213.
- Eccles, John, 271, 272.
 Egerton, William, 90, 91, 118.
Elegy on that Worthy and Famous Actor, Mr. Charles Hart, 38, 41.
Elegy upon the Most Execrable Murder of Mr. Clun, 34.
 Epsom, plays at, 113, 114.
 Etherege, Sir George, 67, 68; *Sir Fopling Flutter*, 87, 113 n.
 Evelyn, Sir John, 17.
- Faithful Shepherd, The*, 30 and n.
 Fane, Sir Francis, *Masque for Valentinian*, 73, 74, 174, 175.
 Farquhar, George, 78 n., 89 n., 103, 118; *The Constant Couple*, 85; *The Inconstant*, 98 ff., 248-255, 282; *The Twin Rivals*, 102.
 Farquhar and Motteux, *The Stage Coach*, 107, 115, 117.
 Feilding, Beau, 101, 102.
Female Tailor, The, 105 and n., 111, 112.
 Fenten, Elijah, 60, 61.
 Firth, C. H., 188.
 Flecknoe, Richard, xvii n., xx.
 Fletcher, John, influence on Restoration comedy, xvii ff.; interest in the duel, 246 n.; *see also* Beaumont and Fletcher.
 Fletcher and Shakespeare, *Henry VIII*, xiii.
 Ford, John, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, 23 n.
 Forsythe, R. S., xvi, 228 n., 230 n., 232 n., 237 n., 239 n.
- Garrick, David, 109.
 Genest, John, 29 n., 72 n., 77, 82 n., 90, 96, 107 n., 120, 174 n., 233 n.,

- 240 n., 241 n., 256, 274, 275, 75-120 *passim*.
 Gildon, Charles, 50 and n., 54, 59 n., 64, 65 n., 66 n., 69, 74, 83, 84, 91, 96, 98 and n., 101, 123, 154 n., 207 and n., 245 n.
 Glapthorne, Henry, *Argalus and Parthenia*, 16.
 Granville, Lord, 77.
 Gray, Alan, 67, 71.
 Greenwich, playhouse at, 150 n.
 Guarini, *Il Pastor Fido*, 30 and n.
 Gwynn, Nell, 27 n., 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 40, 49.
 Habington, William, *The Queen of Aragon*, 27 n.
 Haines, Jo, 50 and n., 66, 97, 98 and n., 234.
 Halifax, Charles Montague, Earl of, 104.
 Halliwell, J. O., 6, 22 n.
 Hart, Charles, 31, 33, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41.
 Herbert, Sir Henry, 10, 15 ff., 20.
 Hill, Aaron, *The Walking Statue*, 112, 115.
 Hotson, Leslie, 3, 22.
 Hunt, Leigh, xx.
 Husbands, Benjamin, 77 n.
 Inderwick, F. A., 26.
 Inner Temple, plays at the, 26, 27, 40, 41, 45, 50 and n., 65.
 Jacob, Giles, 59, 188, 189.
 Jeffreys, George, 65.
 Johnson, Charles, *Love and Liberty*, xv n.
 Jolly, George, 22 n., 23 n.
 Jonson, Ben, 4 n., 14, 25 and n., 26, 91; *Catiline*, 61 n.; *Epicæne*, 8 n., 10, 42; *The Sad Shepherd*, 136 n.
 Jordan, Thomas, 8.
 Kilborne, F. W., 266 n.
 Killigrew, Thomas, 8, 13; *Claricilla*, 10; *The Parson's Wedding*, 41 n.
 King's Company, 13 ff., 19 ff., 24, 25, 30 ff., 53.
 Kingsley, Charles, xix.
 Kirkman, Francis, *The Wits*, 4 ff.
 Knepp, Mrs., 31, 42, 47, 49.
 Knight, Joseph, 29 n., 72 n., 119 n.
 Krusenbaum, August, 133 n.
 Kynaston, Edward, 11, 12, 18, 64.
 Lacy, John, *Sauny the Scot*, 46.
 Langbaine, Gerard, xiii, 36, 39, 40, 41, 50, 59, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 69, 74, 95, 98 n., 222, 238 n., 240 n., 6-75 *passim*.
 Latreille MS., 75 n., 111 n., 150 n., 75-120 *passim*.
 Laureat, *The*, 118.
 Lawrence, W. J., 21, 22.
 Lee, Nathaniel, *The Rival Queens*, 113 n.
 Le Fleming MSS, 46.
 Leigh, Mrs. Anthony, 56.
 Leighton, Sir Ellis, 46 n.
 Leveridge, Richard, 86.
Life of that Eminent Comedian Robert Wilks, The, 83 n., 107.
Long Vacation, The, 113, 114.
 Lowe, R. W., 13, 19, 90.
 Lowell, J. R., 161 and n.
 Malone, Edmond, 16, 17 n., 27, 85 n., 90.
 Marow, Lady, 85.
 Marshall, Rebecca, 38.
 Martin, R. G., 73.
 Maruso, Don Bartholomeo Bernalte, 86.
 Massinger, Philip, *The Bondman*, 11, 16, 17, 23.
 McAfee, Helen, 18 n.
 McKerrow, R. B., 257 n.
Memoirs of Robert Wilks, 124.
Mercurius Musicus, 90, 271, 272.
 Middleton, Thomas, *The Changeling*, 11; *The Widow*, 10.
 Mohun, Michael, 15, 35, 36 n., 38, 39.
 "Morecraft," 43, 44.

- Motteux, Pierre, 57, 202; *Acis and Galatea*, 76, 78, 117, 271 ff.; *The Island Princess*, 82 ff., 103, 147-154, 281; *The Stage Coach*, see Farquhar, George.
- Mottley, John, 111, 120 n., 124.
- Mountfort, Mrs., 65, 66.
- N., Miss M., *The Faithful General*, 79, 80, 87, 88 n., 212-221, 282.
- Newman, Thomas, 255 n.
- Nicoll, Allardyce, xviii, 12 n., 24 n., 28 n., 29 and n., 32 n., 48, 53, 71 n., 72 n., 73, 176 ff., 271 n., 274; Part i, *passim*.
- N[orris], H[enry], *The Royal Merchant*, 274, 275; see also Beaumont and Fletcher, *Beggars' Bush*.
- Norton, H. G., 8.
- Norton, Richard, 95 n.
- Norwich, plays at, 22 and n. "Nursery," 7 n.
- Oldfield, Anne, 56, 81, 91 ff., 101, 102, 117, 118.
- Opera. See Betterton, Thomas, *The Prophetess*; Motteux, Pierre, *The Island Princess*; Powell, George, *Bonduca*.
- Opera, The French, 55.
- Orrery, Charles Boyle, Earl of, *As You Find It*, 271.
- Otway, Thomas, *The Soldier's Fortune*, 88, 89.
- Payne, Nevil, 187 and n., 188.
- Penkethman, William, 70, 80, 116 and n., 150 n., 258.
- Pepys, Samuel, 13, 14, 17 n., 27 and n., 139, 6-53 *passim*.
- Perry, H. T. E., 253 n.
- Philips, Katharine, 23.
- Pix, Mary, *The Double Distress*, 77 n.
- Play-bills, of *The Humorous Lieutenant*, 34 and n.; of *The Pilgrim*, opp. 110.
- Powell, George, 113, 114; *Bonduca*, 100, 101, 160-165, 281; *The Cornish Comedy*, 96; *The Treacherous Brothers*, 54.
- Purcell, Henry, 54 n., 64, 65, 67, 69, 70 and n., 81, 88, 93, 241 n.
- Ravenscroft, Edward, *The Citizen Turned Gentleman*, 43 and n.; *The London Cuckolds*, 88.
- Rhodes, John, 7, 10 ff.
- Rhodes, Richard, *Flora's Vagaries*, 42 and n.
- Rich, Christopher, 94, 95 n.
- Rochester, John Wilmot, Earl of, *Lucina's Rape*, 73, 175-178; *Valentinian*, 11 n., 71 ff., 78, 79, 95, 106, 112 ff., 165-178, 279, 280.
- Rogers, Jane, 105 and n.
- Rollins, H. E., 3, 7 n.
- Romilly, Joseph, 202 n.
- Rowe, Nathaniel, 248, 249.
- Rowley, William, *All's Lost by Lust*, 16 and n., 17 n.
- Rutland MSS, 55, 58.
- Rymer, Thomas, 31, 36, 39, 55, 58, 61 n., 123, 183 n., 184 n., 265, 266.
- Saintsbury, George, xx, 167, 231, 239 n.
- Salisbury Court, playhouse at, 23.
- Santlow, Miss, 112, 113 and n.
- Scarsdale, Lord, 84.
- Schmid, David, 99 n., 253 n.
- Scott, Thomas, 202 and n.; *The Mock Marriage*, 96, 202; *The Unhappy Kindness*, 95 ff., 202-212, 281.
- Scott, Sir Walter, 248.
- Sedley, Sir Charles, 38.
- Settle, Elkanah, *The Fairy Queen*, 57 n., 84; *Philaster*, 89, 195-202, 281.
- Shadwell, Charles, *The Fair Quaker of Deal*, 113 n.
- Shadwell, Thomas, *The Libertine*, 102; *Epsom Wells*, 239 n.; *The Royal Shepherdess*, 47; *The Squire of Alsatia*, 67, 68, 77 n.

- Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of, 188.
- Shakespeare, William, 4 n., 10, 14, 25, 26, 53, 91, 121, 129, 240 n.; *Hamlet*, 14, 103, 113, 203, 204; *Henry IV*, 10, 15, 34, 103; *Julius Cæsar*, 61 n., 104; *Macbeth*, 103; *The Merchant of Venice*, 235 n.; *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 10; *Othello*, 9 n., 10, 14, 34, 61 n., 113 n., 274; *Pericles*, 11; *Twelfth Night*, 23 n.; see also Dryden, John, *The Tempest*; Lacy, John, *Sauny the Scot*; Tate, Nahum, *King Lear*.
- Shirley, James, 10 n., 26; *The Coronation*, xiii; *The Country Captain*, 52 n.; *Love's Cruelty*, 10; *The Traitor*, 10; *The Wedding*, 10, 16.
- "Sir Roger," xviii n., 44 and n.
- Skipworth, Sir Thomas, 84.
- Southerne, Thomas, 61.
- Spectator*, *The*, 116 and n., 123.
- Spencer, Hazelton, 13, 14, 15, 46.
- Squire, W. Barclay, 67, 70, 71.
- State of the Case Restated*, *The*, 85, 86.
- State Poems*, 84, 85.
- Suckling, Sir John, *Aglaure*, 11.
- Summers, Montague, 44 n., 85 n.
- Swinburne, A. C., 27 n., 221, 258, 259.
- Symonds, J. A., 167 n.
- Tate, Nahum, 174 and n.; *A Duke and no Duke*, 271; *The Island Princess*, 57, 139-147, 150 n., 214 n., 267, 280; *King Lear*, 113 and n.
- Tatham, John, *The Rump*, 8 n.
- Tailor, The*, 94, 95 and n., 115, 116, 119, 120.
- Tofts, Mrs., 94, 95.
- Tupper, James, xvii, xviii, 132 n.
- Vanbrugh, Sir John, 118; *The Pilgrim*, 89 ff., 105, 106, 110, 116 and n., 117, 120 n., 244-248, 281, 282.
- Verbruggen, John, 204 and n.
- Vere Street, playhouse in, 17, 18.
- Victor, Benjamin, 78, 79.
- Waldron, G. F., 136 n.
- Waller, Edmund, 62; *The Maid's Tragedy*, 58 ff., 178-186, 280.
- Walsh, William, 84 n.
- Warton, Joseph, 120.
- Wellington, Richard, 77 n., 97 n.
- Wilks, Robert, 63, 80, 81, 83 n., 88 and n., 92 and n., 100, 107, 109, 117, 124.
- William III, 69, 70.
- Wilson, John, *The Cheats*, 62.
- Wit for Money, or Poet Stutter*, 69, 70.
- Wolseley, Robert, 165, 166 and n.
- Wood, Anthony à, 166 n.
- Wright, James, 4.

DATE DUE

MAR 20 1969

MAR 19 1969

SG MAR 31 '70

SG MAR 31 '70

0 CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

9-031-3087

PR 2434 S6 1954

SPRAGUE, AC

BEAUMONT + FLETCHER

89C-E8C

A

LIBRARY
SIR GEORGE WILLIAMS
UNIVERSITY
Montreal, Canada

Concordia University Library



3 1212 00148049 4